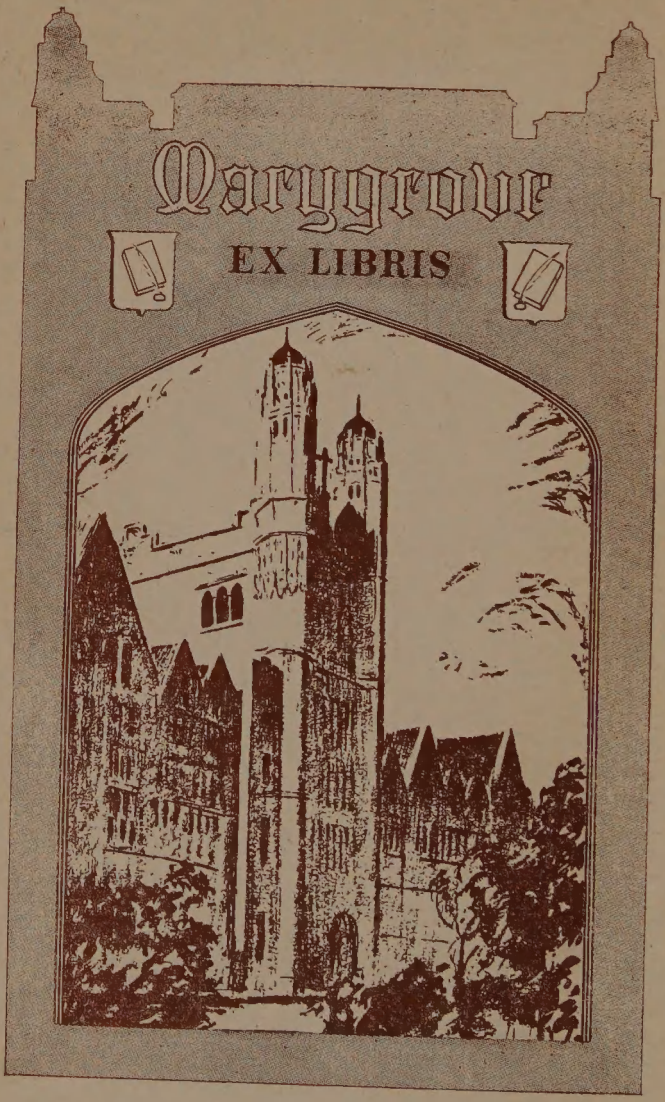
Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

VOL. X


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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD., beg to announce that they have still in stock a limited number of the larger edition of the hieroglyphic text and translation of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, with the hieroglyphic vocabulary by DR. WALLIS BUDGE, which appeared in three volumes under the title "CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY," late in 1897.

Price for the Entire Work, £2 10*s.*

VOLUME I. contains all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, printed in hieroglyphic type (pp. 1—517), and a description of the papyri in the British Museum from which they have been edited, and a list of Chapters, etc. (pp. i.—xl.). This edition is the most complete which has hitherto been published.

VOLUME II. contains a full vocabulary (pp. 1—386) to all the hieroglyphic texts of the Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead and to the supplementary Chapters from the Saïte Recension which are given therewith in Volume I. The volume contains about 35,000 references.

VOLUME III. contains:—

Preface and list of Chapters (i.-xxxvi.).

1. INTRODUCTION (pp. xxxvii.-cciv.):—

Chap. I.—The History of the Book of the Dead. This Chapter is accompanied by eighteen plates which illustrate the palæography of the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead from the Vth Dynasty to the Roman Period.

Chap. II.—Osiris and the Resurrection.

„ III.—The Judgment of the Dead.

„ IV.—The Elysian Fields or Heaven. With extracts from the Pyramid Texts.

„ V.—The Magic of the Book of the Dead.

„ VI.—The Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead.

„ VII.—The Book of the Dead of Nesi-Khonsu, about B.C. 1000 (English translation).

„ VIII.—The Book of Breathings (English translation).

„ IX.—The Papyrus of Takhert-puru-ȧbt (English translation).

2. English Translation of the Book of the Dead (pp. 1—354). The volume also contains three scenes from the famous Papyrus of Ani representing the Judgment Scene, the Funeral Procession, and the Elysian Fields, which have been reproduced in full colours by Mr. W. Griggs, the eminent photo-lithographer.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

Vol. X. OF THE SERIES

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

From the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30

Vol. II.

EGYPT UNDER THE GREAT PYRAMID BUILDERS

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In the year 1894 Dr. Wallis Budge prepared for Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. an elementary work on the Egyptian language, entitled "First Steps in Egyptian," and two years later the companion volume, "An Egyptian Reading Book," with transliterations of all the texts printed in it, and a full vocabulary. The success of these works proved that they had helped to satisfy a want long felt by students of the Egyptian language, and as a similar want existed among students of the languages written in the cuneiform character, Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, prepared on the same lines as the two books mentioned above, an elementary work on the Assyrian and Babylonian languages ("First Steps in Assyrian"), which appeared in 1898. These works, however, dealt mainly with the philological branch of Egyptology and Assyriology, and it was impossible in the space allowed to explain much that needed explanation in the other branches of these subjects—that is to say, matters relating to the archæology, history, religion, etc., of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians. In answer to the numerous requests which have been made, a series of short, popular handbooks on the most important branches of Egyptology and Assyriology have been prepared, and it is hoped that these will serve as introductions to the larger works on these subjects. The present is the tenth volume of the series, and the succeeding volumes will be published at short intervals, and at moderate prices.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

EGYPT

UNDER

THE GREAT PYRAMID BUILDERS

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LIT.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE

In the pages of this Volume the history of Egypt has been continued from the end of the IIIrd Dynasty to the close of the reign of Seānkh-ka-Rā, who was famous for the despatch of an expedition to Punt, and was the last king of the XIth Dynasty. The opening chapter is devoted to a summary in which the general condition of the country, and the state of civilization of the people, and the progress of the Egyptians during the Archaic Period are briefly described. The facts related in it illustrate the manner in which the civilization of the dynastic Egyptians developed out of the primitive culture of the indigenous predynastic peoples of Egypt, after it had been modified and improved by the superior intelligence of a race of men, presumably of Asiatic origin, who invaded and conquered Egypt. The chapters which follow deal with the period of the Great Pyramid Builders, one of the most fascinating epochs of Egyptian history. In it we see the broad-headed, dominant race in Egypt at their best, and it has been truly said that it was the kings of

the IVth Dynasty, with their architects, and practical mechanics, and artists, and sculptors, and scribes, who made the great reputation which the Egyptians have enjoyed ever since throughout the world. It may be argued that the Pyramids are useless monuments of misdirected energy, and of misapplied ability, to say nothing of the vanity of the kings who made them—a vanity which some think was as colossal in its way as the actual buildings; but it is the fact that the master minds which planned and the mechanical skill which built them remained unsurpassed, and even unequalled, in all the subsequent history of Egypt. Cheops and his immediate successors certainly deserve praise for the good sense which they displayed in giving their great architects and clerks of works a free hand in their mighty undertakings; and it must never be forgotten that the sculptures and bas-reliefs executed during their reigns are as wonderful for their delicacy and beauty as the Pyramids are for their size and solidity. That the scribes, and artists, and sculptors of the Saïte Period made them the models from which they worked is not to be wondered at, and it borders on the marvellous that the best and greatest period of Egyptian art and sculpture must be assigned to the time of the IVth Dynasty, or about B.C. 3500. In the following pages no mention is made of the various ingenious theories which have gathered round the Great Pyramid, and which would assign to that vast sepulchral monument hidden purposes and mean-

ings, for it is now admitted by all competent authorities that it was built for a tomb and not to illustrate any esoteric doctrines connected with the Hebrew Patriarchs and others.

In discussing the XIth Dynasty, a brief narrative of the Ântef kings has been included, because the late Dr. Brugsch and Prof. Wiedemann and other Egyptologists have included them among the rulers of that Dynasty, and the general reader will expect to find them there; but it is probable, as the forms of some of the prenomens of the Ântefs, and the peculiar shape of their coffins indicate, that they reigned at a later period, i.e., after the XIIIth and before the XVIIth Dynasty. The extracts from the History of Herodotus, given in English, are taken from the quaint and charming old rendering of the first two Books by "B. R.," which was published in 1584.[1]

E. A. Wallis Budge.

[1] THE Famous History of | *HERODOTUS* | *Conteyning the Discourse* | of dyuers Countreys, the succession | *of theyr Kyngs: the actes and exploytes* | atchieued by them: the Lavves and | customes of euery nation: with the | true Description and Anti- | quitie of the time. | Deuided into nine Bookes, entituled vvith | the names of the nine Muses. | At London | Printed by *Thomas Marshe:* 1584.

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EGYPT

UNDER THE

GREAT PYRAMID BUILDERS.

CHAPTER I.

ARCHAIC PERIOD.—SUMMARY.

With the ending of the IIIrd Dynasty we close our chapter on the archaic period of Egyptian civilization. The remains of the first three dynasties, which are now considerable, show that the civilization of this period, while marking the beginnings of *Egyptian* culture, as contrasted with that of the "New Race," exhibits many interesting points of difference from the fully developed civilization of the Nile Valley, which may be said really to have begun with the rule of the kings of the IVth Dynasty. The "New Race," or indigenous inhabitants of the Nile Valley, lived in mud huts, or in booths made of wattles and mud; but the Egyptians of the Ist Dynasty lived in wooden and brick-built houses, which had openings both for doors and windows, and which were ornamented in front with cornices and decorative wood-work. The "New Race"

buried their dead in the beds of streams, on the banks of the Nile, and in holes scooped out on the edge of the desert; but the Egyptians of the Ist Dynasty laid their dead in tombs which had substantial brick walls and wooden roofs supported by pillars, and which were usually floored with wood, but sometimes with stone as in the case of the tomb of Semti, which was paved with slabs of red granite. The use of stone in tomb building increased steadily, and already in the IIIrd Dynasty we find that the Egyptians were able to build the stone pyramid of Ṣaḳḳâra, which has been described above.

The Egyptians of the first three dynasties followed the custom of their indigenous predecessors and buried their dead in a contracted position, but there seems to be no evidence to prove that they retained generally the custom of systematically mutilating the body before burial. Towards the end of the archaic period of Egyptian history dead bodies were sometimes buried at full length and lying on their backs, and gradually this method of arranging the dead body became universal. The custom of making offerings to the dead, which was widespread among the peoples of the "New Race," was certainly adopted by the early dynastic Egyptians, for, in addition to the pottery and small articles that have been found in graves of the primitive people, the dynastic Egyptians buried with their dead amulets of many kinds, and ivory figures, plaques, etc., which display very consider-

able skill in working the material employed. The graves of the "New Race" neither contain inscriptions nor display any knowledge of the art of writing, but it is certain that before the Ist Dynasty the isolated pictures of boats, birds, animals, standards, etc., which are characteristic of the primitive period, had been elaborated and combined into a system of expressing connected ideas by means of picture writing. The names of the dead were therefore first commemorated at the time when the Nile Valley was still divided into two kingdoms, i.e., the South and the North, for the earliest Egyptian inscriptions known to us consist of the names of the predynastic kings of the south called Te, and Re, and Ka. And it is due to the preservation of the roughly hewn and roughly inscribed funereal stelae of the earliest Egyptian kings, and their nobles, and officials, that we owe a great part of our knowledge of the social conditions under which the Egyptians lived during the archaic period of their history.

The inscriptions of the Ist Dynasty contain a large number of hieroglyphic signs, the greater number of which are identical with the hieroglyphics of the later periods but are more archaic in form; many of them are, of course, crude pictures of objects, but some, even in that early period, exhibit signs of conventional treatment. Inscriptions written with such unconventionalized pictorial hieroglyphics are of the utmost value for the identification of the objects which are depicted in a purely conventional manner in the later texts,

when the correct forms of the original objects which they represented had become forgotten. A comparison also of the archaic inscriptions with the texts of a later date shows that many of the early picture characters became obsolete as far back as the period of the IVth Dynasty; for this reason it is extremely difficult to read with certainty the inscriptions of the Ist Dynasty. The inscriptions of the period which we possess are very short, and, because they consist chiefly of names and titles, they are rarely long enough to form grammatical sentences; the longest inscription consists of but a few words, such as "great heads (i.e., chiefs) come tomb; he gives (?)."[1] This being so, it is impossible either to draw any final conclusion as to the grammatical peculiarities of the Egyptian language at this early period, or to make any definite statement as to the group of languages with which it was cognate; in the Ist Dynasty its construction seems to have been even more simple than in the time of the IVth Dynasty, and as far as can be seen now its relationship to any Semitic dialect becomes in no way more apparent. It is certain that many of the fundamentals of the Egyptian language, and even of the writing, were of indigenous and not Asiatic origin, and a very large portion of the vocabulary in use in the early dynasties consisted of words of an indigenous origin.

[1] See *Royal Tombs*, plate 16, No. 20.

Similarly, the fundamentals of the Egyptian religion are also of indigenous and not Asiatic origin, and it seems as if the standards of the gods, and perhaps of the sacred animals, were objects of veneration to the peoples of the "New Race" before the advent of their conquerors from the East. It is clear that the "New Race" believed in a life beyond the grave, for they laid offerings of food, etc., in the graves of their dead, and unless they had such a belief they would never have made provision for their wants in a future life. This and other primitive beliefs were retained by the early dynastic Egyptians, who, however, added thereto religious ideas of a different character, which were due partly to the new-comers and partly to natural development. Thus, with the Ist Dynasty we enter the iconic age of Egyptian religion, and it seems as if the god Osiris was already



The goddess Ta-urt.
British Museum, No. 35,700.

fashioned in much the same form as that in which he appears even in the latest times. The oldest figure of a deity which we possess is that of the hippopotamus goddess Ta-urt, which is represented on p. 5; this image, which is now in the British Museum, must belong to the archaic period of Egyptian art, for it is made of the peculiar red breccia which is characteristic of that period. Its artistic treatment points to the same age, and we are probably right in assigning it to the time of the Ist and IInd Dynasties. The remarkable green slate object bearing the name of Nār-Mer (see Vol. I., pp. 185-187) by its reliefs proves that the cow-goddess Hathor was at that remote time a favourite object of veneration, and the British Museum possesses a flint, roughly worked in the shape of her head (Vol. I., p. 84, No. 32,124), which must be considerably older than the reign of Nār-Mer. Many other deities must have been known in the archaic period, and the name Mer-Nit shows us that the warrior-goddess, whose emblem was the shield with two arrows crossed upon it, , was already worshipped, and traces of the worship of Seker appear in the form of the hieroglyphic of the Ḥennu Boat, and of the bandy-legged figure, which in later days became the type of the triune god of the Resurrection, Ptah-Seker-Åsår. Horus, the sky-god, was certainly the supreme god at this period, but as yet no image of him in human hawk-headed form has been found; he always appears in the form of a hawk, and, indeed, it is worthy of note that in the archaic period the custom

of representing theriomorphic deities with human bodies had not yet grown up. At this period a considerable development in the religious ideas of the Egyptians seems to have taken place; incidentally an important proof of this is supplied by Manetho, who indicates that new institutions in connection with the worship of the bulls Apis and Mnevis, and of the ram of Mendes, were established by Ka-kau, a king of the IInd Dynasty. According to traditions which are preserved in the rubrics of some of its chapters, the *Book of the Dead*, in some form or other, must already have been in existence in the Ist Dynasty. Thus in the coffin of Menthu-ḥetep, a queen of the XIth Dynasty, we have two copies of the LXIVth Chapter; in the rubric to the first the name of the king during whose reign the chapter is said to have been "found" is given as Menthu-ḥetep, which is, of course, a mistake[1] for Men-kau-Rā or Mycerinus, the fourth king of the IVth Dynasty, but in the rubric to the second the king's name is given as SEMTI or Ḥesepti. Thus it is clear that in the period of the XIth Dynasty it was believed that the chapter might alternatively be as old as the time of the Ist Dynasty. Again, in the Papyrus of Nu, a document which dates from the period of the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty, we also have two copies of the LXIVth Chapter, and the shorter version is attributed to the time of SEMTI, or Ḥesepti, and the longer to that of Men-kau-Rā. When

[1] See Goodwin, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1886, p. 54.

we remember that on the plaque of SEMTI (see Vol. I., p. 195) we find depicted a figure of this king dancing before a god, who is probably Osiris, and see thereon a figure of the Ḥennu Boat of the god Seker, and also consider that SEMTI'S tomb was one of the finest of those of the early dynastic kings found at Abydos, it is certain that this king inaugurated some ceremonies in connection with the burial of the dead, or developed old ones to such an extent that his successors saw fit to associate certain chapters of the *Book of the Dead* with his name. And it is more than probable that he took some part personally in the "editing" or revision of the chapters which are connected with his name; for had the scribes of a later period wished merely to ascribe great antiquity to the LXIVth Chapter, they could have done so more effectually by mentioning in connection with it the name of Menà or Menes, or the "Followers of Horus," than by referring it to the time of a king who was not the founder of the rule of the dynastic kings of Egypt. In any case Semti must have been a learned man, for he is also mentioned in a medical papyrus (see p. 199), and both he and Tcheser seem to have contributed largely to the medical knowledge of the period.

We have already referred to the tombs of the archaic period, and we have seen that the art of building structures in brick and stone had so far improved by the middle of the IIIrd Dynasty that Tcheser found himself possessed of such mechanical means and archi-

tectural knowledge as were necessary to enable him to build the oldest of the pyramids, i.e., the Step Pyramid at Ṣaḳḳâra; the height of perfection to which the arts of the potters and of the workers in glaze had attained is shown by the beautiful blue glazed faïence tiles which were used to line the interior of this edifice.[1] The art of making statues of any size in the round seems to date from the time of Besh, the first king of the IInd Dynasty, but the art of sculpturing in relief was known at a much earlier period, and indeed it seems to have been employed as far back as the time of the predecessors of Menes, to whose period many of the small figures in the round must also date. To this period, i.e., to the time of the "Followers of Horus," or the half-civilized predynastic rulers of Upper Egypt, must be assigned the two most archaic of the green slate objects already referred to in Vol. I., p. 184, the designs on which are here reproduced.[2] A mere glance at these two objects is sufficient to convince the archaeologist that they are the most ancient of their class, and that they are, in point of date, considerably anterior to the sculptured reliefs of the kings Āḥa and Nār-mer. The larger of them is incomplete, and the small portion missing has never been found; the remainder consists of three large fragments, two of which

[1] Specimens are preserved in the British Museum; see Nos. 2437, 2438, 2440, 2441, 2445.

[2] See also Mr. Legge's comprehensive and sensible description of the whole class of objects in *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, May, 1900; they are also mentioned in connection with Mycenaean theories by H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 151 ff.

are in the British Museum, and one in the Museum of the Louvre. The reliefs upon the larger object represent hunting scenes. We see lions, horned animals of the deer kind, jackals, and hares being hunted in the desert by half-savage chiefs and warriors who wear feathers on their heads, and at their backs tails of some animal, probably a jackal, hanging from a girdle or belt. This tail, which was worn generally by simple chiefs at the end of the predynastic age, survived, in an artificial form, as a ceremonial ornament which was worn by the kings, and which was also regarded as part of the apparel of a god. This fact



Green slate object of unknown use dating from the latter part of the predynastic period. British Museum, Nos. 20,790, 20,792.

alone is sufficient to indicate the great antiquity which must be assigned to this extremely interesting object. We must first of all note that some of the warriors carry standards or emblems of the gods, the most noticeable being that which is surmounted by the hawk of Horus; others have bows and arrows, the heads of the latter being of the squared flint type which appears to have been commonly used at that epoch; others hold stone-headed maces, and others most curious weapons which consist of stone celts fastened into wooden hafts. Two men are armed with double-headed axes, which were probably made of chert, or flint, and fixed in forked wooden handles. The use of stone weapons, indicated on this object, certainly emphasizes its archaic character, for on similar objects which are known to belong to the days of Āḥa and Nār-mer metal weapons are depicted. On the upper part are two pictures which represent a double-headed bull, and a coffin or funeral chest, which, from their position in the scene and their obvious want of connection with it, must be intended for ideographs; if this be so, they are the earliest specimens of Egyptian writing known. In the later hieroglyphic system the latter survives in a practically unchanged form , and the former in the form , which is read *Akeru;* their meaning here, however, cannot be stated with certainty. As a characteristic of the art of the period it may be noted that the eyes of the men and animals have been drilled, and it is probable that they were inlaid with

small pieces of bone or some other light-coloured substance.

Another object of the same material and style, which probably dates from the same period as that just described, is also preserved in the British Museum,[1] and is here figured. The scene on the Obverse, taken as a whole, probably represents the treatment which was meted out to prisoners of war by their captors. On the right hand top corner we see a captive with his hands tied behind his back, being thrust out into the desert (?) by an official who wears a long ornamented robe with fringe. Five of the captives appear to be dead, and are being devoured by a lion and vultures; one, however, seems to have worked his hands and arms free, and is endeavouring to escape. All the captives, except one, are circumcised, and they wear beards. The artistic treatment of the scene suggests a comparison with the well-known Stele of the Vultures, which was made for the early Babylonian king E-annadu, or E-dingira-nagin, who is supposed to have reigned about B.C. 4500. On the Reverse we have the lower portions of the bodies of two giraffes which evidently were feeding upon a palm tree. The Reverse of a fragment which seems to have formed a part of the above object, and which is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,[2] supplies us with the head of one of the giraffes feeding on the leaves of the palm tree, and a bird; and on the

[1] No. 20,791.

[2] See Legge, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, June, 1900.



Reliefs on a green slate object of unknown use. British Museum, No. 20,791.

Obverse we find the earliest piece of Egyptian symbolism known to us. Here we have two captives, with their hands tied behind their backs, being, apparently, led to slaughter by animated hawk-standards, each of which is provided with a human arm and hand which grasps the arms of the captive under its charge. It is hard not to conclude that these two monuments were made in the time of the followers of the Hawk-god Horus, and that the second of them probably represents the actual treatment which the vanquished indigenous inhabitants received at the hands of their conquerors. The development of the



Fragment in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Obverse.



Fragment in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Reverse.

art exhibited by the whole group of the green slate objects now known can be well studied by means of the facsimiles published by Mr. Legge, and therefrom it may be seen that archaic Egyptian art, the first-fruits of which are well illustrated by the two slate objects already described, developed itself on lines which, until quite recently, would not have been considered in any way of Egyptian character. One of its chief characteristics is a frequent use of monstrous or exaggerated forms of animals, etc. (see Legge, plate 3), which in historical times never appear on the monuments, and are, in fact, confined to objects and documents of a magical character. From certain of these slate objects (see Legge, plate 5) it is evident that in the time of Āḥa and Nār-mer important fortified towns and cities existed in Egypt, and it is interesting to note that the walls of those of which names are given are crenellated like the walls of the tomb of Āḥa at Naḳâda, and like the fortified palaces of the kings of the city of Shirpurla in Babylonia. The names of such cities are, as might be expected, of very simple form, e.g., Ka, Em, Khu, Kheper, Ḥa (?), etc.

In later times, judging by the evidence supplied by the jar-sealings, large estates were possessed by the king and by his nobles, and when it was necessary to record the names of such on seals they were usually enclosed in similar crenellated ovals. The names of many officials and nobles who owned landed property are made known by the jar-sealings and other inscribed objects

from the tombs at Abydos, and among such may be mentioned king Ṭen's "royal chancellor" , or , Ḥemaka , and Ḥenuka , who was the "chief prince" , and "royal axe-man" , or more literally "the two axes of the king," a title which is not met with after the Ist Dynasty. Many other office-bearers of the same period are mentioned on stelae, and on ivory and ebony plaques, jar-sealings, etc., their titles being more or less of the same type as those which are found in the IVth and succeeding dynasties of the Early Empire. We must here note that no trace of the existence of any regular priesthood has so far been found on these most ancient monuments, for the common signs for "libationer" or "priest" , or "servant of the god" , or "reader" , literally, "the holder of the book," seem to have been unknown. All priestly functions were probably performed by each head of a family, from the king downwards, though it is certain, as is the case with all primitive peoples, that the man of magic and medicine existed, and, human nature being probably much the same then as now, no doubt carried on a thriving business!

From the monuments of Besh, the first king of the IInd Dynasty, we learn that he possessed a

name which belonged to him as the representative of the god Set as well as a Horus name (see Vol. I., p. 207).

The head of the state, though not yet known by the title of "Per-āa," or "Pharaoh," yet bears many of the titles which we are accustomed to associate with him, e.g.  *suten bāt*, "king of the South, king of the North;" and , which must have had exactly the same signification; the first of these consists of the names for "king" in Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, and the second describes the king as lord, or possessor of the two most ancient cities in Upper and Lower Egypt, i.e., Nekheb and Per-Uatchet, the seats of the vulture and the snake goddess respectively. The kings of the Ist Dynasty did not enclose their names in cartouches, nor did they use a "throne name"; Besh, the first king of the IInd Dynasty, was the first to inaugurate both these customs, though the occurrence of the throne name is not frequent during the Early Empire. The king as head of the community represented on earth Horus, the sky-god, who was at that time regarded as the king of the gods; he was therefore under the special protection of Horus, and in this capacity had a special name which was inscribed upon a rectangular object called in Egyptian "Serekh" , or "cognizance," i.e., "the thing which makes one known." This object has been held to be a banner by some, and a piece of sculptured work by others, but in reality it is

a part of the standard of the god Horus on which the king's name was inscribed. The accompanying illustration shows two Horus standards of the time of SEMTI, the fifth king of the Ist Dynasty,[1] each with an uninscribed "serekh" hanging from the perch on which the Hawk-god stands. At a later period, which cannot be exactly indicated, the Horus name became in some way identified with the *ka* or "double" of the king, and the Horus name therefore became the name of the king's *ka;* for this reason the Horus name of the king is often called the *ka* name. The title of the king most familiar to us, i.e., "Son of the Sun," does not occur on the contemporaneous monuments of the archaic period, and the titles "good god," "great god," do not occur until a later period. Although not yet deified, the king in the archaic period seems to have been an autocratic and absolute monarch, whose people were little better than slaves, and whose nobles owed their existence and their social position entirely to him; as the kinsman and representative of the god Horus he was the absolute lord of life and death. The queen, whether royal mother or royal wife, though not mentioned on the earliest monuments, no doubt occupied the same exalted position



Ancient form of the *serekh*, or cognizance of the king.

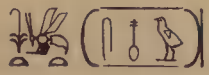
[1] For an earlier form of the same object see the illustration on p. 15.

as was assigned to her in later days. Manetho tells us that in the reign of Ba-en-neter, the third king of the IInd Dynasty, "it was determined that women should "enjoy royal privileges, i.e., that they should not be dis- "qualified from ascending the throne and enjoying all the "dignity and state which appertained thereto." This is not to be wondered at, for the social position of women in Egypt was always much higher than in other Eastern countries; an Egyptian generally traced his pedigree from a maternal ancestor, as is the case with many primitive peoples, and the mother, or "lady of the house," enjoyed in Egypt a position of authority and importance rarely met with among other nations.

CHAPTER II.

THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT PYRAMID BUILDERS.

FOURTH DYNASTY. FROM MEMPHIS.

1.  or  SENEFERU, Σώρις.



NEB-MAĀT, the Horus name of Seneferu.

With Seneferu, whose Horus name was NEB-MAĀT, and who, besides , lord of the shrines of the goddesses Nekhebet and Uatchet, *i.e.*, "lord of the South, lord of the North," called himself also the "Golden Hawk," or "Golden Horus" , we begin the IVth Dynasty; this king, according to Manetho, reigned twenty-nine years. It is noteworthy that the Tablet of Karnak begins with his name, a fact which seems to show that the compilers of such King Lists did not hold themselves bound to follow historical considerations in such cases, and that they allowed themselves to make whatsoever selection of royal names seemed to them best. Seneferu appears to be the first

king of Egypt who carried war into foreign countries on a large scale; and this fact is illustrated by an important relief, which is found sculptured on the rocks in the Wâdî Maghâra in the Peninsula of Sinai.[1] Here we see a figure of the king, wearing a crown with plumes



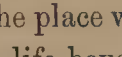
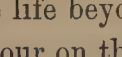
Rock-relief of Seneferu at Wâdî Maghâra.

and uraei, engaged in the slaughter of a typical Sinaitic foe of Egypt; the king is seizing him by the hair of the head with the left hand, and is about to aim a blow on it

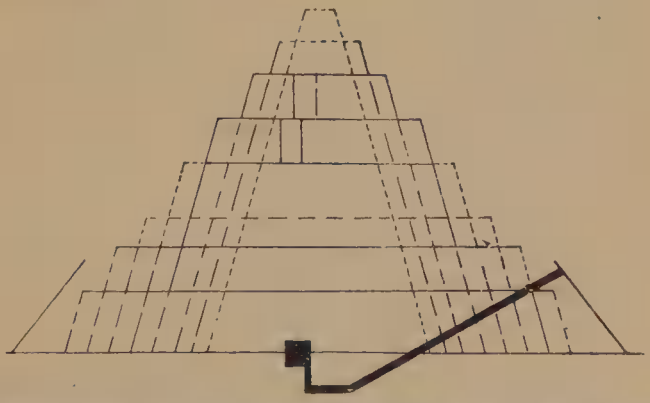
[1] See the late Professor Palmer's *Sinai from the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty to the present Day*, London, 1878, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. plate 2. The reliefs on the rocks at Sinai were noted by Niebuhr as far back as 1762.

with a mace which he holds in his uplifted right hand. Above the scene, in a cartouche, are the five names and titles of the king given above, and below is the inscription, "Seneferu, the great god, the subduer of foreign countries, "giver of power, stability, life, all health, and all joy of "heart for ever;" on the right is the Horus name of the king. It is improbable that Seneferu was the first Egyptian king to visit the Peninsula of Sinai as a conqueror, for we know that Tcheser,[1] a king of the IIIrd Dynasty, made his way thither, and that the famous turquoise mines, which were worked in the district, supplied him with materials for ornamenting the chambers of his pyramid. Seneferu, however, conquered the inhabitants of the country, and seized the mines, and built strong forts in the neighbourhood for Egyptian garrisons to live in, and to serve as places of refuge for the miners when suddenly attacked by the natives; the ruins of certain stone buildings, which exist in the Wâdî Maghâra to this day, have been identified by modern travellers with the forts of Seneferu. The spiritual wants of the miners seem to have been ministered to by the priests of the temple which was built there, and which was dedicated to the goddess Hathor and to Horus-Sepṭ. The mines are said to have been worked by means of flint tools only, but some think that instruments of bronze were also employed.

[1] See an article by Bénédite in the *Recueil*, tom. xvi. p. 104, where Tcheser's Horus name is figured; it was, apparently, first noted in the work of the English Survey made in 1869.

Seneferu built a pyramid which he intended to serve for his tomb at or near Dahshûr, and another which must be identified with the Pyramid of Mêdûm, and is situated at a distance of about forty miles to the south of Cairo. Each pyramid was called Khā , a name which indicates the place where the dead king would rise with glory to the life beyond the grave, even as the sun rises with splendour on this world; but the pyramid at Dahshûr was distinguished by the addition of the word "Southern," i.e., ; the two pyramids together were indicated by the phrase . The pyramid of Mêdûm, which has long been called "Al-Haram al-Kaddâb," i.e., the "Lying (or False) Pyramid," by the Arabs of the desert round about, was opened by M. Maspero in 1881-82, and other excavations were made on the site in subsequent years. The pyramid is over 120 feet in height, and consists of three stages, which are about 70, 20, and 30 feet high respectively; the stone of which it is built was brought from the Muḳaṭṭam hills, but it was never finished. When opened in modern times, the sarcophagus chamber was found to be empty, and it was discovered that the pyramid had been broken into and plundered in the time of the XXth Dynasty, about B.C. 1100. It is a remarkable building, and it is quite unlike the ordinary pyramid tombs, although it is entered from the north side. Originally it consisted of a rectangular, truncated building with sides which sloped to a common centre

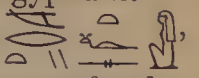
at an angle of about 74°; the king, wishing to enlarge the mass of masonry, from time to time built round its sides thick layers of masonry, and at the same time added to the height of the original building. At length the tops of the layers of masonry formed a series of seven steps, and Seneferu no doubt intended to cover it all over, from apex to base, with a covering of polished stones. The following illustration is taken from



The Pyramid of Mêdûm. Plan showing the original building with additions, the mummy-chamber and the corridor leading thereto.

Medum by Prof. Petrie, who, on the east side of the pyramid, close to the casing, discovered a courtyard wherein stood the remains of the small temple which had been built of limestone; in the courtyard was an altar, by the side of which stood two uninscribed stelae. The inscriptions in and about the pyramid, which were written by visitors during the XVIIIth Dynasty, prove that the building was at that time regarded as the tomb of Seneferu. To the north and east of the pyramid

several of the officials of Seneferu were buried in "maṣṭăba," or "bench-shaped" tombs; the largest of these were built for Rā-ḥetep and his wife Nefert, and for Nefer-Maāt and his wife Ȧtet, and the statues and painted scenes which were found in the maṣṭăba of Rā-ḥetep are among the finest which have ever been seen. Near the pyramid of Seneferu a number of tombs were also found, in which the bodies had been buried in a contracted position, the knees being sharply bent, and the thighs at right angles to the body. The right arm was usually in front, and the left arm was usually under the body and legs, with the hand under the knees;[1] such burials are, of course, survivals of the old indigenous custom, and the people thus buried were, no doubt, members of some tribe of the indigenous race which had survived until this period and which had been brought into a state of subjection by the dynastic Egyptians.

The wife of Seneferu was called Mertitefs , and she seems to have been held in high honour after her husband's death by his successors Khufu and Khāfrā; his daughter Nefertkau was the grandmother of the priest Seneferu-khāf, whose tomb is at Gîzeh. Seneferu is, according to M. Golénischeff,[2] mentioned in connection with a year of famine and an invasion of the Āmu, a hostile race of Asiatic origin. An interesting story, which is well worthy of mention here, is told of Seneferu in the Westcar Papyrus.[3] It appears that on a certain

[1] Petrie, *Medum*, p. 21.

[2] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 110.

[3] Ed. Erman, p. 9.

day the king was weary and depressed, and that he applied to his nobles to find some means of cheering him; as they had nothing to suggest, the king sent for the magician Tchatcha-em-ānkh, who, having been brought into the presence, advised the king to go for a sail on the lake. He next proposed that he should make the necessary arrangements for the king, and having brought a boat with twenty young and beautiful virgins in it, each of whom was provided with a paddle of ebony inlaid with gold, he invited the king to embark, and the boat was rowed out on the lake. As the maidens were rowing, one of them dropped a turquoise ornament into the water, and when the king had learned what had happened, he promised to have it found for her. Having called the magician into his presence and told him what was wanted, Tchatcha-em-ānkh spake certain words of power which he knew, whereupon one section of the water of the lake straightway raised itself and placed itself upon the other portion, which thus became twenty-four cubits deep instead of twelve as formerly; the magician then found the turquoise ornament lying on the bed of the lake, and taking it up he gave it to the maiden. This done, he uttered certain words of power, and the section of the water which had raised itself up out of its place and set itself upon the other portion at once descended to its former place, and the whole lake resumed its normal level of twelve cubits. Thus we see that in the XVIIIth Dynasty, when the copy of the story as given in the Westcar Papyrus

was made, the Egyptians believed that their ancestors in the IVth Dynasty were able to work magic of a powerful and far-reaching kind. It is impossible not to call to mind, in connection with the above story, the narrative in Exodus which tells how Moses, by means of his rod and words of power, made a way for the Israelites through the waters of the sea, so that they might pass over on dry ground whilst the waters stood up on each side of them like walls.

2.  KHEFU, or KHUFU, *Χέοψ*.



MÂTCHETU, the Horus name of Khufu.

KHEFU, or KHUFU, the Souphis of Manetho, and the Kheops of Herodotus, was, according to the Westcar Papyrus, the son of Seneferu, and he is said by Manetho to have reigned sixty-three years. He was, beyond all doubt, a mighty builder, and it seems as if all his energies were spent in arranging for and watching the construction of the Great Pyramid at Gîzeh, which he intended to be his tomb, and which has excited the wonder and admiration of the world. On a rock in the Wâdî Maghâra is a relief in which he, like his father, Seneferu, is represented in the act of clubbing a typical Sinaitic foe, but there is no record to show that he was ever regarded as a great warrior. In connection with

this relief it is interesting to note that he is called "Khnemu Khufu," and that the clubbing of the foe is taking place in the presence of the god Thoth, who stands there in the form of an ibis-headed man. To Khufu belongs the credit of having built the first and greatest pyramid, in the strict sense of the word, just as



Rock-relief of Khufu at Wâdî Maghâra.

to Seneferu belongs the credit of having built the first true step pyramid. In passing we may note that the derivation of the word "pyramid," *i.e.*, πυραμίς, is apparently unknown, and no entirely satisfactory meaning for it has been put forward; it may, of course, be a word of Aryan origin, but we should probably rightly set aside all

the fanciful etymologies which connect it with the Greek word for "fire," and should derive it from some words of Egyptian origin which were in use in the later periods of Egyptian history. A very reasonable attempt was made by Prof. Eisenlohr in 1877 to derive "pyramid" from the Egyptian words "per-em-us" , which seem to express[1] the conception of "height," or



Rock-relief of Khufu at Wâdî Maghâra.

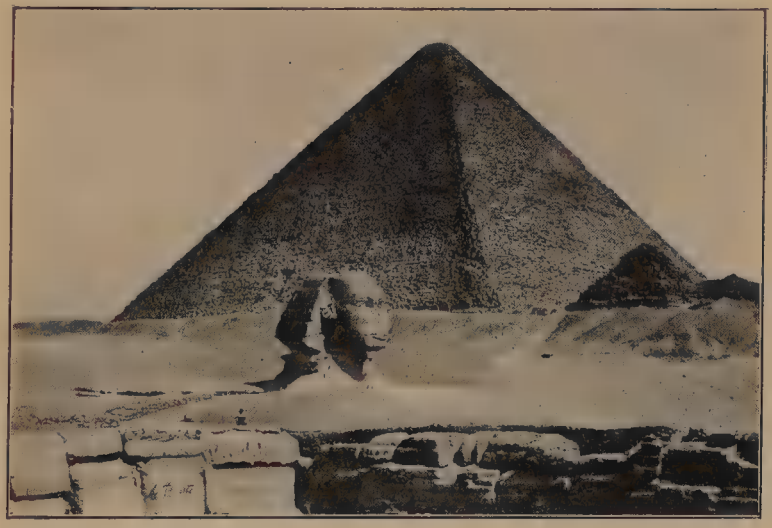
"high," and until a better derivation is proposed this one must form the best that has been made.

According to Herodotus[2] (ii. 124), Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid, was "a man fraughte

[1] "Pir-em-us, Ursprung des Wortes *πυραμίς*, entweder die Kante an der Pyramide oder die Gerade, welche von der Spitze der Pyramide auf die Mitte der Grundlinie gezogen wird." *Ein mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter*, p. 260. Borchardt renders the words "Die aus *ws* (Grundfläche) heraustretende Linie"; see *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. 31, p. 14.

[2] B. R.'s translation, fol. 103 *b*.

"with all kynde of vicious demeanour,[1] and wicked con-
"versation. For causing the temples of the gods to be
"fast locked up, he gave out through all quarters of hys
"Empyre, that it myght not be lawfull for any Aegyptian
"to offer sacrifice, to the ende, that beeing seduced from
"the service and reverence of the gods, he might securely



The Great Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) at Gizeh.

"employ them in his owne affayres. Some were appoyn-
"ted to digge stones in the mountayne Arabicus, and
"from thence, to convey them to the river Nilus, where
"they were receyved of others which pheryed them over
"the river to the roote of a greate hill named Africus.

[1] Compare Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 102), "He was arrogant towards the gods, and wrote the sacred book, which is regarded by the Egyptians as a work of great importance."

"The whole number of those that were conversaunt in "the Kings affayres, was tenne thousande men, serving by "turnes, every three monethes a thousand. In which "manner, he helde the people the space of tenne yeares, "in all whiche tyme, they did nothyng but hewe and cary "stones, a labour of no lesse importaunce (in my judge- "mente) then to have built the pyre it selfe, or towre of "stone, which is in length five furlongs, in breadth "tenne paces, and in height where it is greatest, to the "number of eyght paces, beeyng framed of stone, "curiously carved and ingraven with the pictures of "beastes. Heerein also were consumed other tenne yeares, "causing certayne chambers to be cut out under the "grounde, undermining the stoneworke upon the which "the towres were founded, whyche hee provided for hys "sepulcher. The situation heereof was in a small "Ilande, through the whyche by a trench or small "draught, he caused the river to have passage. The "pyre was made stearewise, ascending by steppes or "degrees orderly placed one above another. Havyng in "suche sorte finished the lower worke, they devised "certayne engines or wrestes to heave up stones from "the grounde to the first stayre, and from thence "to the seconde, and so consequently tyll they came to "the place where the stone shoulde lye, havyng uppon "each stayre a wreast; or (that whyche is more likely) "using one for all, beeyng framed of lyght wood, to the "intente it might the more easily be remoouved. The "grosse worke finished, they began to polishe and

"beautifie the towre from the toppe downewardes, com-
"ming last of all to the neathermost stayre, wherein they
"made a finall ende and conclusion of the beautie and
"grace of all theyr woorkemanshippe. In thys pyre, were
"intayled certayne letters in the Aegyptian language,
"declaring the expence the King was at in the time of his
"building, for mustardseed, oynyons, and garlike, which
"(as I remember) the interpreter told me, did amount to
"the summe of a thousande five hundred talents. If this
"were so, how much shal we deeme to have bene spent
"upon other things, as upon tooles, engins, victuals,
"labouring garments for the workemen, being tenne
"yeares busied in these affayres. I reckon not the time
"wherein they were held in framing and hewing of
"stones to set them in a readinesse for the mayne worke:
"neyther all the space that [was] passed over in the
"conveyance and cariage of the stone to the place of
"building, which was no small numbers of dayes, as also
"the time which was consumed in undermining the
"earth, and cutting out of chambers under the grounde,
"all whyche things drave the King to such a narrow
"straight, that he was fayne to cloute out his devises
"with a most wicked invention, which was this:—
"Perceiving his golden mine to draw low that the divell
"might daunce in the bottome of his bagge and finde
"never a crosse, he made sale of his daughter's honestie,
"willing hir to entertayne tagge and ragge all that
"would come, in case they refused not to pay for their
"pleasure, sithence Venus accepteth not the devotion of

"such as pray with empty hands and threadbare purrses. "The Lady, willing to obey the hestes of the King her "father, devised also the meane to prolong the memorie of "herselfe, and to advaunce her fame to the notice of all "ages that should ensue, wherefore she made request to "suche as had accesse unto her, to give her a stone to "the building and erection of a worke which she had "determined, wherewith (as the brute goeth) she gave so "many stones as served to the framing of a whole pyre, "situate in the middest of the three former in full view "and prospect to the greatest pyrame, which is every way "an acre and an halfe square."

According to Diodorus (i. 63), the Great Pyramid was built by Chemmis, the eighth king from Remphis, who was from Memphis, and reigned fifty years. "He built "the greatest of the three pyramids, which were accounted "amongst the seven wonders of the world. They stand "towards Libya, 120 furlongs from Memphis, and 45 from "the Nile. The greatness of these works, and the ex- "cessive labour of the workmen seen in them, do even "strike the beholders with admiration and astonishment. "The greatest being four-square, took up, on every "square, 700 feet of ground in the basis, and above 600 "feet in height, spiring up narrower by little and little, "till it came up to the point, the top of which was six "cubits square. It is build of solid marble throughout, of "rough work, but of perpetual duration: for though it "be now a thousand years since it was built, (some say "above three thousand and four hundred), yet the stones

"are as firmly jointed, and the whole building as entire "and without the least decay, as they were at the first "laying an erection. The stone, they say, was brought a "long way off, out of Arabia, and that the work was "raised by making mounts of earth; cranes and other "engines being not known at that time. And that which "is most to be admired, is to see such a foundation so "imprudently laid, as it seems to be, in a sandy place, "where there is not the least sign of any earth cast up, "nor marks where any stone was cut and polished; so "that the whole pile seems to be reared all at once, and "fixed in the midst of heaps of sand by some god, and "not built by degrees by the hands of men. Some of "the Egyptians tell wonderful things, and invent strange "fables concerning these works, affirming that the mounts "were made of salt and salt-petre, and that they were "melted by the inundation of the river, and being so "dissolved, everything was washed away but the building "itself. But this is not the truth of the thing; but the "great multitude of hands that raised the mounts, the "same carried back the earth to the place whence they dug "it; for they say, there were 360,000 men employed in "this work, and the whole was scarce completed in "twenty years time." (Booth's translation, p. 65.) In the opinion of Diodorus the architects who built the Pyramids are "much more to be admired than the kings "themselves that were at the cost. For those performed "all by their own ingenuity, but these did nothing but "by the wealth handed to them by descent from their

"predecessors, and by the toil and labour of other "men."

The account of the Pyramids given by Pliny (xxxvi., 16, 17) is of interest, and is as follows:—

"The largest Pyramid is built of stone quarried in "Arabia; three hundred and sixty thousand men, it is "said, were employed upon it twenty years, and the "three were completed in seventy-eight years and "four months. They are described by the following "writers:—Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris of Samos, "Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Poly-"histor, Butoridas, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, "and Apion. These authors, however, are disagreed "as to the persons by whom they were constructed; "accident having, with very considerable justice, con-"signed to oblivion the names of those who erected "such stupendous memorials of their vanity. Some "of these writers inform us that fifteen hundred talents "were expended upon radishes, garlic, and onions alone. "The most difficult problem is, to know how the "materials for construction could possibly be carried to "so vast a height. According to some authorities, as "the building gradually advanced, they heaped up "against it vast mounds of nitre and salt; which piles "were melted after its completion, by introducing "beneath them the waters of the river. Others, again, "maintain, that bridges were constructed, of bricks of "clay, and that, when the Pyramid was completed, "these bricks were distributed for erecting the houses

"of private individuals. For the level of the river,
"they say, being so much lower, water could never by
"any possibility have been brought there by the medium
"of canals. In the interior of the largest Pyramid there
"is a well, eighty-six cubits deep, which communicates
"with the river, it is thought. The method of ascertain-
"ing the height of the Pyramids and all similar edifices
"was discovered by Thales of Miletus; he measuring
"the shadow at the hour of the day at which it is
"equal in length to the body projecting it. Such are
"the marvellous Pyramids; but the crowning marvel
"of all is, that the smallest, but most admired of
"them—that we may feel no surprise at the opulence
"of the kings—was built by Rhodopis, a courtesan!
"This woman was once the fellow-slave of Aesopus the
"philosopher and fabulist, and the sharer of his bed;
"but what is much more surprising is, that a courtesan
"should have been enabled, by her vocation, to amass
"such enormous wealth. The largest Pyramid occupies
"seven jugera of ground, and the four angles are equi-
"distant, the face of each side being eight hundred and
"thirty-three feet in length. The total height from
"the ground to the summit is seven hundred and
"twenty-five feet, and the platform on the summit is
"sixteen feet and a half in circuit. Of the second
"Pyramid, the faces of the four sides are each seven
"hundred and fifty-seven feet and a half in length.
"The third is smaller than the others, but far more
"prepossessing in appearance: it is built of Aethiopian

"stone, and the face between the four corners is three "hundred and sixty-three feet in extent."

The account given of the Pyramids by Strabo is meagre; he says (xvii. 1. § 33): "At the distance of 40 "stadia from Memphis is a brow of a hill, on which are "many pyramids, the tombs of the kings. Three of them "are considerable. Two of these are reckoned among the "'Seven Wonders.' They are a stadium in height, and "of a quadrangular shape. Their height somewhat ex- "ceeds the length of each of the sides. One pyramid is "a little larger than the other. At a moderate height "in one of the sides is a stone, which may be taken out; "when that is removed, there is an oblique passage "[leading] to the tomb. They are near each other, and "upon the same level. Farther on, at a greater height "of the mountain, is the third pyramid, which is much "less than the two others, but constructed at much "greater expense; for from the foundation nearly as far "as the middle, it is built of black stone." Many of the Arab writers have described and discussed the Pyramids. Thus 'Abd al-Laṭîf, quoting other authorities, says[1] that the Great Pyramid is 317 cubits high, and that its sloping sides are each 460 cubits in length; personally he doubted these measurements, and states that he believes the height of the building to be 400 cubits, and that he one day intends to verify these figures. He thought that of all the great works in Egypt the

[1] See Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1810, pp. 171, 177, 219.

Pyramids were the most to be admired, and he gives details concerning the attempts which were made to wreck the Great Pyramid by Othmân and other Muḥammadan rulers.

The fullest and most interesting account of the Pyramids given by any Arabic writer is that of Al-Makrîzî; see the Bûlâḳ edition of his works, vol. i., p. 111 ff.

Abu'l-Fida in his Geography[1] describes the Pyramids, Al-Ahrâm, and Al-Haramân, as being the tombs of ancients, and he mentions their great height; Mas'ûdî relates[2] a description of the manner in which they were built, according to statements made on the subject by a Copt, and adds a little account of the contents of the texts which were inscribed on their sides; and the geographer Yâḳût has collected[3] from Muḥammadan sources a number of very curious and interesting traditions concerning the observations of stars taken near the Great Pyramid. Among Christian Syrian writers who have described the Pyramids we may mention Dionysius of Tell Maḥrê, who flourished in the IXth century of our era. In the course of his travels he tells us: "We saw in Egypt the pyramids of which "the Theologian speaks in his songs. They are not "the granaries of Joseph, as certain folk have thought,

[1] See the edition of the Arabic text by Reinaud and McGuckin de Slane, Paris, 1840, p. 108.

[2] *Prairies d'Or*, ed. B. de Meynard, tom. ii. p. 404.

[3] Ed. Wüstenfeld, tom. iv. p. 963 (*Al-Haramân*).

"but marvellous structures which have been built above "the tombs of ancient kings. They are solid and massive, "and not hollow and empty. We examined the opening "which exists on the side of one of these pyramids, and "it is about forty cubits deep. We were able to ascertain "that these pyramids are built of hewn stones which are "laid one upon the other in such wise that they form a "base which is five hundred cubits in length on each "side, and the layers continue to diminish in size as they "ascend until that at the top is only one cubit [square]. "The pyramids are two hundred and fifty cubits in "height. Each stone measures from ten to fifteen cubits "each way, and the pyramids at a distance resemble "high mountains." Dionysius also mentions the obelisks of Heliopolis, which he describes as being sixty cubits high and six cubits square, and made of hard stone. In his time, apparently, the "white brass" caps with which their points are said to have been covered were still upon them, and he says that each metal cap weighs one thousand pounds.[1]

The method actually followed in the construction of the Great Pyramid and of its fellows has been much discussed from the time of Lepsius downwards. According to this eminent man, after a suitable site had been chosen and cleared, a mass of rock was, if possible, left in the middle of the area to form the core of the building; around this core a truncated pyramid was built, layer by layer, the steps being

[1] See *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahrê*, Paris, 1895, p. xxv.

filled up with suitably shaped blocks of stone. Coat after coat of stone was built round the work, which grew larger and larger until it was finished. Dr. Lepsius thought that on ascending the throne a king built for his tomb a small but complete pyramid, and that he built a new coating of stone round it every year; and that when he died the sides of the pyramid, which then resembled long flights of steps, were finished off by filling up the steps with right-angled triangular blocks of stone. This explanation has been generally accepted, and it certainly answers satisfactorily more objections than do the views of other theorists on this matter; Prof. Petrie, however, thinks that the "great pyramid "was set out from the first upon a vast scale . . . and "that it could not have been designed of any much "smaller size is shown conclusively by the internal pas- "sages. The entrance to these would have been quite "impracticable in design on any size of building not "much over two-thirds of the present base. The actual "size, moreover, shows that both this and the Pyramid of "Medum were designed to an exact dimension."[1] On the other hand, Herr Borchardt is convinced, after an exhaustive study of the subject, that Dr. Lepsius's pyramid accretion theory is substantially correct, and that it needs correction in a few minor points only. In certain cases the original plans were strictly adhered to, but in others they were modified or enlarged according to the fancies of those who built for themselves pyramids.

[1] *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 38.

This last view agrees very well with the known facts; a matter of this kind must be settled by the trained architect and not by the Egyptologist. The Great Pyramid, which was originally covered with inscribed slabs of smooth limestone or polished granite, is 451 feet high, and the greatest length of each of the four sides at the base is about 755 feet; originally its

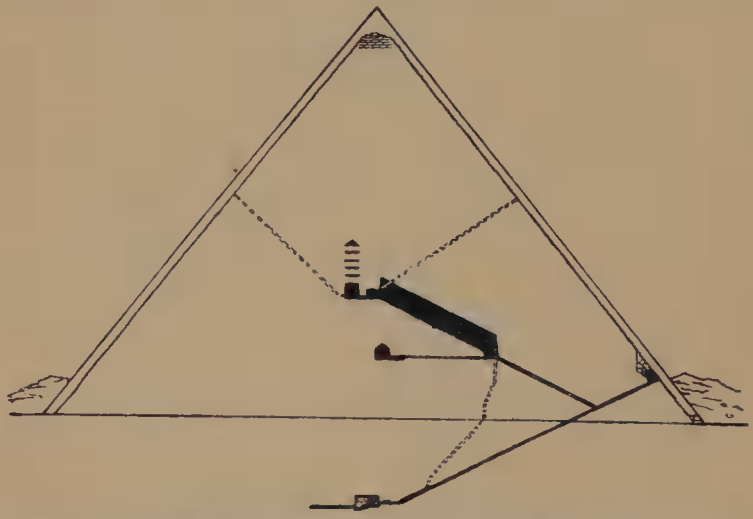


Diagram showing the arrangement of the passages in the Great Pyramid, and the position of the sarcophagus chambers.

sides were 20 feet longer, and it was about 30 feet higher. The cubic contents of the masonry, according to a recent calculation, amount to over 3,000,000 yards, and the pyramid covers an area of twelve and a half acres; in Egyptian the building was called KHUT , i.e., "Glory." The Great Pyramid has formed the subject of some of the most fanciful theories

which have ever been evolved concerning a building, and until quite recently certain writers solemnly declared that beneath it and inside it there were chambers filled with gold, and silver, and precious stones, in vast quantities; it cannot be too clearly stated that this pyramid was a tomb, and that it had no connection whatsoever with antediluvian patriarchs, and was not built by or for any one mentioned in Holy Scripture.

Of Khufu, or Cheops, the Westcar Papyrus has preserved an interesting story which illustrates the power of the magician of the period. It seems that the king's son, Ḥeruṭāṭāf, was one day telling him of the skill possessed by the ancients in working magic, and in answer to some remark made by his father, Ḥeruṭāṭāf promised to produce a magician who lived in Tet-Seneferu, who was 110 years old, and who had the power of re-attaching to its body a head which had been cut off. Khufu at once ordered his son to go and bring the sage into his presence, and the royal barge having been brought, Ḥeruṭāṭāf set out to fulfil his father's behest. In due course the abode of Teta the magician was reached, and when he had been informed of the cause of the prince's visit, he rose up and with his help reached the river, where he embarked on the royal barge; after a time the party arrived at Khufu's palace, and the coming of the sage was announced. When Teta had entered the presence, the king asked him if he could do according to what Ḥeruṭāṭāf had declared, and Teta having answered in

the affirmative, the king wished to have a prisoner brought that he might see the doom inflicted upon him; but the magician objected to exercising his skill upon a human being, and suggested that a sacred bird or animal should be brought for the purpose. Thereupon a goose was fetched, and Teta, having cut off its head, laid the body on one side of the apartment and the head on the other; this done, he rose up and began to utter certain words of power, whereupon the body began to move and the head likewise, and each time they moved they came nearer to each other, until at length the head moved to its former place on the neck of the bird, which straightway cackled. The experiment was then repeated by Teta upon another



Khufu, King of Egypt.
(The original is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.)

kind of bird, and afterwards upon an ox, and in these cases the heads were rejoined to their bodies, and bird and beast stood up and lived as before.

3.  Rā-ṭeṭ-f, Ῥατοίσης.

Rāṭeṭf, who is most certainly to be identified with the Ratoises of Manetho, is placed next to Khufu because his name follows that of Khufu in the Tablet of Abydos; he is said to have reigned twenty-five years. Some authorities make him to be the successor of Khāf-Rā, and others of Men-kau-Rā, but until some sure testimony from the monuments is forthcoming the position of his name in the Tablet of Abydos must be regarded as indicating his true place among kings of the IVth Dynasty. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Mertitefes, the widow of Seneferu, mentions Khufu and Khāf-Rā as the immediate successors of her husband.[1] It will be remembered that the magician Teta lived in a district which was probably named after Rāṭeṭef or Ṭeṭef-Rā, and the "Field of Rāṭeṭef" was owned by an official called Per-sen. Of the details of the reign of Rāṭeṭef nothing whatsoever is known, but it may be assumed that it was either not so long as Manetho declares, or that if it was, the glory of this king was dwarfed by that of the great pyramid builders, Khufu, Khāf-Rā, and Men-kau-Rā.

[1] *Études Égyptologiques*, tom. ix. p. 62; de Rougé, *Six Premières Dynasties*, p. 37.

4.  KHĀ-F-RĀ, Χεφρήν.

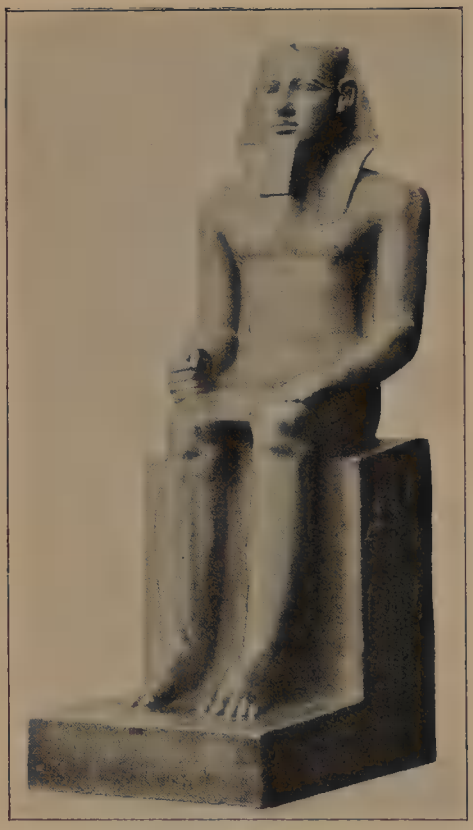


USER-ÂB, the Horus name of Khāf-Rā.

KHĀ-F-RĀ, or Khephren, the Suphis of Manetho, whom he declares to have reigned sixty-six years, is known to history chiefly by the pyramid which he built for his tomb close by that of Khufu; Herodotus says (ii. 129) that Khāf-Rā was the brother of Khufu, but Diodorus, after saying the same thing (i. 64), mentions the theory that Khufu was succeeded, not by his brother Khephren, but by his son Khabruen. Which of the two views is correct cannot be said, for the monuments supply no decisive information on the matter; but Diodorus goes on to say: "All agree in this, that the successor, in imitation "of his predecessor, erected another pyramid like to the "former, both in structure and artificial workmanship, "but not near so large, every square of the basis being "only a furlong in breadth. Upon the greater pyramid "was inscribed the value of the herbs and onions that "were spent upon the labourers during the works, which "amounted to above sixteen hundred talents. There is "nothing written upon the lesser: the entrance and "ascent is only on one side, cut by steps into the main "stone. Although the kings designed these two for their "sepulchres, yet it happened that neither of them were "there buried. For the people, being incensed at them "by the reason of the toil and labour they were put to,

"and the cruelty and oppression of their kings, threatened
"to drag their carcases out of their graves, and pull them
"by piecemeal, and cast them to the dogs; and therefore
"both of them, upon their beds, commanded their servants
"to bury them in some obscure place." (Booth's translation, p. 66.) On the other hand, Herodotus says (ii. 27):
"Ensuing the raigne of Cheops, whose kingdome con-
"tinued the space of fifty yeares, the chiefe governe-
"ment was committed to Chephrenes, his brother, which
"followed the steps of his predecessor as well in other
"things, as also in building of a pyre, howbeit, not so huge
"and great as that which his brother had finished before
"him, for we took the measure of them all. Moreover,
"such underworke wrought out in caves and chambers
"under the ground as is to be seene in the pyre of Cheops,
"are wanting in this, besides the laborious and toilesome
"worke which they had to derive and drawe the river to
"that place, which hath his course through the middest
"of the former pyre, hemming in the whole Iland
"wherein it is situate: within the compasse whereof,
"they affirme that Cheops himselfe was buried. By
"whome in his lifetime, an house was framed of one
"stone alone, diversly coloured, which he had out of the
"countrey of Ethiopia, forty foote lower then the pire
"it selfe, yet planted and built upon the selfesame
"foundation. Chephrenes also (by the computation of
"the Aegyptians) ruled the countrey fiftie yeares, by
"which meanes they make account that their miserie
"continued an hundred and five yeares, at which time

"the temples of their gods were unfrequented, abiding "still from time to time sealed up and unopened; "wherefore these princes the Aegyptians will not name "for the hatred they beare them, calling their pyres "the towres of the "shepeheard Phili- "tio, who at that "time kept sheepe "in those places."



Khā-f-Rā, King of Egypt.
(The original is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.)

The pyramid of Khāf-Rā was called by the Egyptians "Ur" , i.e., "Great"; the name of this king has not been found inscribed on any part of it, but the fragment of a marble object inscribed Khāf-Rā, which was found near the temple close by this pyramid, confirms the statements of the Greek writers, and there is no reasonable ground for doubting the correctness of the generally received view on the subject. This pyramid, which was first opened in modern times by

Belzoni in 1818, is about 450 feet high, and the length of each side at the base is about 700 feet; according to a recent calculation [1] the cubic measure of the masonry is now 2,156,960 yards, and it is said to weigh 4,883,000 tons. The pyramid is entered by two openings in the north side, and the rock upon which it rests was scarped on the north and west sides to make the foundation level. Connected with the Pyramid of Khāf-Rā is the Temple of Seker-Osiris, commonly called the Temple of the Sphinx, which was built of granite and alabaster, and which was discovered by Mariette in 1853; it lies about forty yards to the south-east of the right foot of the Sphinx at Gîzeh. The pillars are also made of granite, and are in shape square. To the east of the smaller of the two halls of the building is a well in which nine statues of Khāf-Rā were found. The remains of this temple are eloquent witnesses to the skill which the Egyptians had acquired in the art of working and polishing granite and other hard stones.

To the period of the first or second of the three great pyramid builders we shall probably be right in assigning the SPHINX, although it is quite possible that it may be much older; it is one of the most wonderful and imposing of the monuments of Egypt. It is hewn out of the living rock, but has been often repaired. It represents a man-headed lion; the body is

[1] Baedeker, *Egypt*, p. 115.

about 150 feet long, the paws 50 feet long, the head 30 feet long, the face 14 feet wide, and from the top of the head to the base of the monument the height is about 70 feet. The face was painted red, and above the forehead was sculptured the uraeus, the symbol of divinity and royalty, but most of the traces of these disappeared during the course of the XIXth century. Some hold the view that the Sphinx represents Åmen-em-ḥāt III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty, and that it was fashioned by him, but no conclusive evidence has been adduced in support of this view, and the general opinion of the best informed authorities is that it belongs to a far older period. The Egyptians called the Sphinx "Ḥu" , and he represented Harmachis, a form of the Sun-god; the fact that they connected it with this ancient god seems to indicate that they assigned a high antiquity to the object. We have no mention in the early texts of the Sphinx, but a red granite tablet was found between its paws which records the excavation, and clearing, and repairs of the Sphinx which were effected by Thothmes IV., a king of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is stated thereon that Harmachis appeared to the king and promised to bestow upon him the crown of Egypt, if he would dig his image, i.e., the Sphinx, out of the sand. In the thirteenth line of the inscription the cartouche of Khāf-Rā occurs, but the text is too mutilated to see in what exact connection; there is no good reason for asserting on the authority of the inscription that Khāf-Rā made the Sphinx, but it is

quite certain that the scribe who drafted the text represented the tradition current in the XVIIIth Dynasty, that this king was in some way connected with it, and a native tradition of this kind is entitled to far more respect and belief than the statements made on the subject by modern writers. The late Dr. Brugsch thought that the Sphinx already existed in the time of Khāf-Rā, and his opinion was shared by M. de Rougé [1] and Dr. Birch;[2] the view taken by M. Maspero of the meaning of the allusion in the text to Khāf-Rā is that this king excavated or cleared the Sphinx from sand, and that we have in it an almost certain proof that in the time of Khufu and of his predecessors the Sphinx was already buried in the sand. The name "Sphinx" was given to the manheaded lion at Gîzeh by the Greeks, probably because they connected it with their own mythological figure, which, however, had the winged body of a lion, and the breast and upper part of a woman;[4] it seems, though, that the Sphinx in any form is of Egyptian origin, a view which is supported by several Greek traditions.

[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 80.

[2] Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. p. 115.

[3] "Il y avait là, je crois, l'indication d'un déblaiement du Sphinx, opéré sous ce prince, par suite, la preuve à peu près certaine que le Sphinx était ensablé déjà au temps de Khéops et de ses prédécesseurs" (*Les Origines*, p. 366); and compare Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 187.

[4] See Aelian, *Hist. Animal.*, xii. 7.

Of the SPHINX Pliny and 'Abd al-Laṭîf say :—

"In front of these pyramids is the Sphinx, a still "more wondrous object of art, but one upon which "silence has been observed, as it is looked upon as a "divinity by the people of the neighbourhood. It is "their belief that Harmaïs was buried in it, and they "will have it that it was brought there from a distance. "The truth is, however, that it was hewn from the "solid rock; and from a feeling of veneration, the face "of the monster is coloured red. The circumference of "the head, measured round the forehead, is one hundred "and two feet, the length of the feet being one hundred "and forty-three, and the height from the belly to the "summit of the asp on the head sixty-two." (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 17). "About a bow shot from these "pyramids a man may see the colossal figure of a head "and neck emerging from the ground. To this figure "the name of 'Abu'l-hawl' (*i.e.*, Father of Terror) has "been given, and it is said that the body to which this "head belongs is buried under the ground. Judging "of the dimensions of the body by that of the head it "must be more than seventy cubits in length. The "face is red-coloured, and on it is a red varnish, "which is as brilliant as if it was new. This figure "is very beautiful, and its mouth bears the impress "of grace and beauty, and it may be said to smile "graciously." ('Abd al-Laṭîf, De Sacy's translation, pp. 179, 180.)

5.  MEN-KAU-RĀ, *Μενχέρης*, or  *Μυκερίνος*.

Of the life and history of MEN-KAU-RĀ no details whatsoever are known, and though, according to Manetho, he reigned sixty-three years, the principal event of this long period of rule seems to have been the building at Gîzeh of the third pyramid, which he intended for his tomb; but before referring to this building it will be best to repeat what is said about him by Greek writers. According to Herodotus (ii. 129), "Chephrenes dying, yeelded the Kingdome to



Men-kau-Rā, King of Egypt.
(The original is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

"Mycerinus, the sonne of his brother Cheops, who, "eschuing the wicked acts and detestable practises of "his father, caused the temples to be set open, giving "libertie to the people being so long distressed under the "governement of his father and uncle, to follow their "owne affayres, and returne to their ancient custom of "sacrifice, ministering iustice above all the Kings that "were before him; for which cause, none of all the "princes that have borne rule in Egypt is so greatly "praysed and renowmed, both for other causes which "were wisely taken up by him in iudgement, and chiefly "for this, that a certayne Aegyptian much complayning "that the King had wronged him in deciding his cause, "he commaunded him to value the losse which he had "suffered by him, which the partie doing, he gave him so "much of his owne goods to make him a recompence. "Mycerinus in this wise governing the common weale "with great clemency, and seekying by vertue to advance "his fame, was sodeinely daunted by a great misfortune, "the death of his onely daughter, having no more "children but her, which was the first and greatest "hartbreake that befell him in his kingdome. For "which cause, being stricken with sorrowe above "measure, and desirous to solemnize her funeralles by "the most royall and princely kinde of buryall that "could be devised: he caused an oxe to be made of "wood, inwardly vauted and hollow within, which being "layde over and garnished most curiously with gilt, he "inclosed therein the wanne and forlorne corpse of his

"best beloved daughter. This royal tombe was not "interred and buryed in the grounde, but remayned unto "our age in the city Sais in open view, standing in a "certayne parlour of the King's pallace, adorned and set "foorth for the same purpose, with most beautifull and "costly furniture. The custome is evermore in the "daye time to cast into the belly of the oxe sweete and "precious odoures of all sortes that may be gotten: and "in the nighte to kindle a lampe, which burneth by the "tomb till the next daye. In a chamber next adioyning "are certayne pictures of women that were the concu- "bines of Mycerinus, if we may beleeve the talke of those "that in the same city of Sais are professours in religion, "forsomuch as there are seene standing in that place "certayne mighty images made of wood, twentye or there- "aboutes in number, the most parte of them bare and "naked, but what women they resemble, or whose "pictures they be, I am not able to alleadge more then "hearesay, notwithstanding, there were which as touch- "ing the gilded oxe, and the other images framed this "tale, that Mycerinus being inamoured of his own "daughter, dealt unlawfully with her besides the course "of nature, who for intollerable greefe hanging her selfe, "was intombed in that oxe by her father: the Queene "her mother causing the hands of all her gentlewomen to "be cut off, by whose meanes she had been betrayed to "serve her father's lust, for which cause (say they) are "these images portrayed, to declare the misfortune which "they abode in their lifetime. But this is as true as the

"man in the moone, for that a man with halfe an eye "may clearely perceive, that their hands fel off for very "age, by reason that the wood through long continuance "of time was spaked and perished, whiche even to our "memory were to be seene lying at the feete of those "which were portrayed. The oxe wherein the young "princesse lay was sumptuously clad, and arayed all the "body with a gorgeous mantle of Phenicia, hys head and "necke beeyng sponged and layde over with braces and "plates of golde of a marvaylous thickenesse. Betweene "his hornes was set a globe or circle of golde, glistering "as the sunne. Neyther is the oxe standing and borne "up uppon hys feete, but kneeleth as it were on hys "knees, equall in bignesse to a great heighfer. The "manner is once a yeare to bring this image out of the "parlour wherein it is kepte, having first of all well "beaten and cudgelled a certayne image of one of theyr "Saintes, whome in thys case wee thinke it not lawfull "to us to name. The talke goeth, that the Lady besought "the Kyng her father that beeing dead, she might once a "yeare behold the sunne, whereof sprang the custome and "maner aforesayde.

"After this, there befell unto him another mischiefe "that fate as neere his skirtes as the death of his dilling, "insomuch that he was readie to runne beyonde hym-"selfe in sorrowe. A prophecie arose in the city of "Butis, that the tearme of five yeares fully expired, the "Kyng shoulde ende hys lyfe, leaving his Kyngdome to "be ruled of another. Whereof the Kyng beeing adver-

"tised, and greately greeving at the rigorous and uniust
"dealing of the gods, sped a messenger to the place
"where the seate of prophecie was helde, to expostulate
"with the god, for what cause (since hys father and
"unckle, who had beene so unmindful of the gods, shut-
"ting up their temples, and making havocke of the
"people, had lived so long) he hymselfe, that had dealte
"better with them, and caused these thynges to bee
"restored agayne, should so soone be deprived of the
"benefite of lyfe, to whome aunswere was made, that hys
"dayes were therefore shortened because hee tooke a
"wrong course and dyd not as he should do, beyng
"appoynted by the celestiall powers, that the countrey
"of Aegypt should suffer miserie, and be afflicted by
"their princes ye space of an hundred and fifty yeares,
"which the two former princes well understanding,
"was neverthelesse by him neglected and left unper-
"formed. Mycerinus hearing this round reply, and
"perceiving that his thread was almost spoon, set al at
"revell, making great provision of lights and tapers,
"which at eventide he caused to be lighted, passing the
"night in exceeding great mirth and princely banquet-
"ting, letting slip no time wherein he either wandered
"not alongst the river, and through the woods and
"groves of the countrey, or entertayned the time in some
"pleasant devises, following all things that might eyther
"breede delighte, or bring pleasure, which things he did,
"to the end he might proove the prophecie false, and
"convince the god of a lie, making twelve yeares of five,

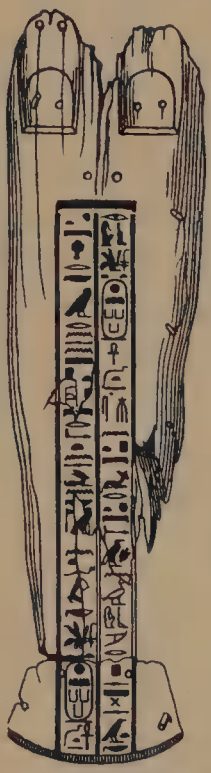
"by spending the nightes also as he did the dayes. "Mycerinus also built a pyre, not equall to that which "his father had set up before him, beeing in measure "but twentie foote square, framed quadrangularly, and "another lower then that, of three acres in compasse, "being built to the middest of the stone of Ethiopia." (B. R.'s translation, fol. 105*a* ff.)

According to Diodorus (i. 64), "Mycerinus, the son "of him who built the first pyramid, began a third "[pyramid], but died before it was finished; every square "of the basis was three hundred feet. The walls for "fifteen stories high were of black marble, like that of "Thebes, the rest was of the same stone with the other "pyramids. Though the other pyramids went beyond "this in greatness, yet this far excelled the rest in the "curiosity of the structure, and the largeness of the "stones. On that side of the pyramid towards the "north, was inscribed the name of the founder Mycerinus. "This king, they say, detesting the severity of the "former kings, carried himself all his days gently and "graciously towards all his subjects, and did all that "possibly he could to gain their love and goodwill "towards him; besides other things, he expended vast "sums of money upon the oracles and worship of the "gods; and bestowing large gifts upon honest men, whom "he judged to be injured, and to be hardly dealt with in "the courts of justice." (Booth's translation.) Herodotus relates that the Greeks thought the Pyramid of Mycerinus to be the "work of the courtesan Rhodopis,"

and this legend is repeated by both Diodorus and Strabo (xvii. 1); the latter says that, according to Sappho the poetess, she was called Doriche, and adds the following:—"A story is told of her, that, when she "was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her sandals from "the hands of her female attendant and carried it to "Memphis; the eagle, soaring over the head of the king, "who was administering justice at the time, let the "sandal fall into his lap. The king, struck with the "shape of the sandal, and the singularity of the accident, "sent over the country to discover the woman to whom "it belonged. She was found in the city of Naucratis, "and brought to the king, who made her his wife. At "her death she was honoured with the above-mentioned "tomb."

The large Pyramid of Mycerinus at Gîzeh, which was called "Ḥer" , is built upon a rock with a sloping surface; the inequality of the surface has been corrected by building up courses of large blocks of stones upon it. The remains of the old outside granite casing are visible to a depth of about thirty feet; the length of each side at the base is about 350 feet, and its height is a little over 210 feet. The pyramid is entered on the north side, and the slanting granite-lined corridor is about 104 feet long, and having passed through a horizontal passage and two large halls, a shaft which leads to the mummy-chamber is reached; this chamber is about forty-five feet long, and some sixty feet below the level of the ground, and

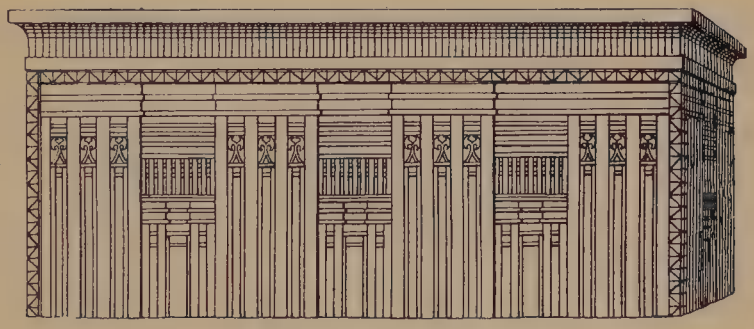
in it was found the sarcophagus of Men-kau-Rā. In a lower chamber were discovered a wooden coffin inscribed with his name and titles, and the remains of a human body wrapped in a coarse woollen cloth of a yellow colour, and a part of the cover of the stone sarcophagus. The stone sarcophagus, having been cased in strong timbers, was with great difficulty taken out of the pyramid, and having been taken to Alexandria, was despatched to London on board a merchant ship in 1838; the ship was never heard of after her departure from Leghorn on October 12th of that year, and it is presumed that she was wrecked off Carthagena, for some parts of the wreckage were picked up near that port. The wooden coffin and the human remains, those of a man, safely reached London, and they are now preserved in the British Museum. So far back as 1883, M. Maspero stated[1] that certain Egyptologists had declared the wooden coffin of Men-kau-Rā to be a "restoration" of the XXVIth Dynasty, and not an original piece of work of the IVth Dynasty, and more



Remains of the cover of the coffin of Mycerinus. (British Museum, No. 6647).

[1] *Guide du Visiteur de Boulaq*, p. 310.

recent writers have adopted their view;[1] but, like Dr. Birch, he was of opinion that the coffin certainly belonged to the IVth Dynasty, and adduced in support of his views the fact of the existence of portions of a similar coffin of Meḥti-em-sa-f, a king of the VIth Dynasty. The statements put forward in support of the "restoration" theory are inconclusive, and quite insufficient to set aside the opinion of the experienced archaeologists mentioned above. The text on the cover



The Sarcophagus of Mycerinus.

of the coffin, which is here reproduced, reads: "[Hail] "Osiris, King of the South and North, Men-kau-Rā, "living for ever, born of heaven, conceived of Nut, heir "of Seb, his beloved; Thy mother Nut spreadeth her- "self over thee in her name of 'mystery of heaven'; "she granteth that thou mayest exist as a god without "thy foes, O King of the South and North, Men-kau-Rā, "living for ever!"

[1] See *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, Bd. xxx. pp. 94–100.

The pyramid of Mycerinus suffered much at the hands of certain Muḥammadan rulers of Egypt, and we are told that Al-Mâmûn set to work seriously to pull down all the great pyramids. Idrîsî, who wrote about A.D. 1226, states that a few years ago the Red Pyramid, i.e., that of Men-kau-Rā, was opened on the north side. After passing through various passages, a room was reached wherein was found a long blue vessel [i.e., a sarcophagus], quite empty. The opening into this pyramid was effected by people who were in search of treasure; they worked at it with axes for six months, and they were in great numbers. They found in this basin, after they had broken the covering of it, the decayed remains of a man, but no treasures, excepting some golden tablets inscribed with characters of a language which nobody could understand.[1] In connection with the reign of Men-kau-Rā reference must be made to some important work which seems to have been carried out by the prince Ḥeru-ṭā-ṭā-f on certain chapters of the *Book of the Dead*; what this work was cannot be exactly described, but it is said that this prince "found" Chapter XXXB., and one of the versions of the LXIVth chapter, inscribed upon a block of iron of the south which had been inlaid with lapis-lazuli, when he was journeying about to make an inspection of the temples.[2] In the texts of a sub-

[1] Vyse, *The Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. ii. pp. 71, 72.

[2] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (translation, pp. 80 and 119).

sequent period references are made to Ḥeru-ṭāṭāf in such a way that it is clear that he was a man of great piety and learning, and it is very probable that the chapters which were "found" by him were either edited or partly re-written by him.

6.  SHEPSES-KA-F, Σεβερχέρης (Herodotus, Ασυχις).

According to the Tablet of Abydos, Men-kau-Rā was followed by SHEPSES-KA-F, but Manetho names one Bicheris as his successor, and says that he reigned twenty-two years; Bicheris may be either a corruption of the name Shepses-ka-f, or another name of the king, but in any case it is perfectly certain from the evidence of the monuments[1] that Shepses-ka-f followed Men-kau-Rā in the rule of Egypt. According to Herodotus (ii. 136), "after Mycerinus, ensued the raigne and "dominion of Asychis, by whome (as the priests report) "was consecrated to Vulcane a princely gallerie standyng "to the East, very fayre and large, wrought with most "curious and exquisite workemanship. For besides that "it had on every side embossed the straunge and lively "pictures of wilde beastes, it had in a manner all the "graces and sumptuous ornaments that coulde be "imagined to the beautifying of a worke. Howbeit, "amiddest other his famous deedes, this purchased him

[1] See de Rougé, *Six Premières Dynasties Egyptiennes*, pp. 66, 73, 77.

"the greatest dignitie, that perceyving the land to be "oppressed with debt, and many creditours like to be "indamaged by great losse, he inacted foorthwith, that "who so borrowed aught uppon credite, shoulde lay to "pledge the dead body of his father, to be used at the "discretion of the creditour, and to be buryed by him in "what manner he woulde, for a pennaunce to all those "that tooke any thing of loane; providing moreover, that "in case he refused to repay the debt, he should neyther "be buryed in the tombe of his fathers, nor in any other "sepulchre, neyther himselfe, nor the issue that should "descend and spring of his body. This prince desiring "to surpasse all that had been before him, left in "memorie of himselfe an excellent pyre built all of clay, "wherein was a stone set ingraven in these wordes: "'Compare me not to the rest of the pyres, which I "'surmount as farre as Iupiter excelleth the meaner "'gods, for searching the bottome of the river with "'a scoupe, looke what clay they brought up, the "'same they employed to the building of me in such "'forme and bignesse as you may beholde.' And this "did Asychis imagine to advance the fame of him selfe "to the time to come."[1] The pyramid here mentioned was undoubtedly built of mud bricks, but that it is to be identified with the Pyramid of Shepses-ka-f, which was called "Qebḥ" ,[2] is very unlikely. During the

[1] B. R.'s Translation, fol. 108*a*.

[2] See de Rougé, *Six Premières Dynasties Égyptiennes*, p. 74.

reign of Shepses-ka-f the official Ptaḥ-shepses flourished, and on the walls of his tomb, which M. Mariette discovered at Ṣaḳḳâra, are recorded a number of the benefits which were showered by the king upon the man who afterwards married his eldest daughter. He says [1] that the king Men-kau-Rā and the king Shepses-ka-f placed him among the royal children; that he had access to the palace and to the king's own apartments; and that he was more pleasing in the sight of the king than any other child. When he had arrived at a marriageable age, "His Majesty gave him [his] eldest royal daughter, "Maāt-khā, to be his wife, for he preferred her to be "with him more than with any [other] man," and he was more esteemed by the king than any other servant. His Majesty also set him over all the secret works of every kind whatsoever it pleased him to have carried out, and he did his duty so well that he "made happy "the heart of his lord every day." "His Majesty "allowed him to bow down his head on his leg (or "knee) in homage, and did not make him to bow down "to the ground; [2] and he entered into the boat of the "gods at all the festivals of the gods, for he was "beloved of his lord." In return for his devotion, he was made "superintendent of the house of divine food"; "superintendent of the private apartments (or affairs)";

[1] For the text see de Rougé, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.; and Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, Paris, 1889, p. 113.

[2] I.e., instead of making him to kneel on the ground, and touch the earth with his forehead, the king accepted as his correct homage the bowing of Ptaḥ-shepses's head to the royal knee.

"chief of the crystal house"; "servant of the god Seker in his every seat"; chief of the royal estate which was set apart to supply offerings for the temple of the god Seker; "*ur-kherp-ḥem* and superintendent of the Temple of Seker"; "*ur-kherp-ḥem* in the double sanctuary of the Aged One, the Temple of Ptaḥ," etc. Thus we see that Ptaḥ-Shepses held a number of important offices in connection with the property and worship of the gods, and the title of "*ur-kherp-ḥem*," i.e., "great chief of the hammer," shows that he was the high priest of the Smith-God Ptaḥ, and so played the most prominent part in the performance of the ceremonies which took place daily in the shrines of the gods Seker and Ptaḥ of Memphis, when their arks and boats were lifted upon their sledges, and were drawn round about the sanctuary at sunrise and sunset, probably in imitation of the motions of the celestial bodies.

The Sasychis of Diodorus is probably to be identified, like the Asychis of Herodotus, with Shepses-ka-f. In the King List of Manetho, following the name Sebercheres, whom we have identified with Shepses-ka-f, is the name Thamphthis, *Θαμφθίς*, which has been identified with that of the king I-em-ḥetep  by Brugsch and Bouriant;[1] neither the Tablet of Abydos nor the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra mentions this king, and the grounds for the proposed identification are insufficient.

[1] *Le Livre des Rois*, p. 6. Here also Sebercheres is identified with Sebek-ka-Rā .

CHAPTER III.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY. FROM ELEPHANTINE.

1.  USER-KA-F, Οὐσερχέρης.



ARI-MAĀT, the Horus name of Userkaf.

The name of USERKAF follows that of Shepses-ka-f on the Tablet of Abydos, and there is no doubt that he represents the Usercheres of Manetho, who began the Vth Dynasty, and who reigned twenty-eight years; this is proved by the inscription of Sekhem-ka-Rā — which is quoted by de Rougé,[1]—who says that he held office under "Khāf-Rā, Men-kau-Rā, Shepses-ka-f, Userkaf, "and Saḥu-Rā." According to the Westcar[2] Papyrus, king Userkaf was the high priest of the god Rā of Ânnu, or Heliopolis, and he seems to have had sufficient power in the land to add the title "son of the Sun" to the titles which the kings of Egypt had already adopted; from the Vth Dynasty onwards the second cartouche of a king always contained the name which he bore

[1] *Six Premières Dynasties*, p. 77.

[2] See Erman, *op. cit.*, plate ix. ff.

as the son of Rā. In the reign of Userkaf the worship of the Sun-god Rā increased greatly, and his cult as understood and proclaimed by the priests of Heliopolis became dominant in the land. The inscriptions of the period mention under various names certain shrines of the god Rā, and such names indicate either the dwelling-place of the god, or some spot which is favoured by him; the determinative in each case is either an obelisk , or a truncated pyramid , which shows that such buildings were dedicated to the worship of Rā.[1] Userkaf built a pyramid to which he gave the name "Āb-âst" , and we may assume that its remains will be found at Abuṣîr, or Busiris, where the pyramids of Saḥu-Rā and Rā-en-user, kings of the same dynasty, have already been found.

2.  Saḥu-Rā, Σεφρής.



Neb-Khāu, the Horus name of Saḥu-Rā.

Saḥu-Rā was the successor of Userkaf, and he is, no doubt, to be identified with the Sephres of Manetho, who reigned thirteen years; a relief sculptured on the rocks in the Wâdî Maghâra represents this king in the traditional attitude of clubbing a native of Sinai, but this does not necessarily imply that he led an expedition into the Peninsula. He built a pyramid called "Khā-ba,"

[1] See *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 111.

, the remains of which have been found in the most northerly of the three largest pyramids at Abusîr; there is no reason to doubt this identification, for the name of the king is traced in red, as Lepsius pointed out,[1] on several of the blocks there. Saḥu-Rā's pyramid is now about 120 feet high, and the length of each side at the base is about 220 feet. The Westcar Papyrus[2] contains an interesting legend of the birth of Saḥu-Rā and of his predecessor Userkaf, and his successor Kakaâ. It seems that king Khufu ordered a magician at his court called Ṭeṭṭâ, , to bring him certain writings from Heliopolis, but Ṭeṭṭâ refused, saying that the "eldest of the three children who "were in the womb of Ruṭ-Ṭeṭet, , "should bring them." The king asked who Ruṭ-Ṭeṭet was, and the sage told him that she was the wife of a priest of the god Rā of Sakhabu , who was about to bring forth three children of the god Rā, who had promised to bestow upon them honours and dignities of all kinds in the land, and had decreed that the eldest of the three was to be the high-priest of Memphis; and when the king heard this he was very sad. And when the days of the wife of the priest Rā-user were fulfilled, and birth-pains were coming upon

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. plate 40. See Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 11 ff.

her, the god Rā of Sakhabu sent Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet, Ḥeqet, and Khnemu to assist her in bringing forth her children, who in return would build temples in their honour and provide their altars with meat and drink offerings in abundance. The goddesses, having disguised themselves as dancing women, went with the god Khnemu to the house of Rā-user, who straightway brought them into the room where his wife was; soon after this Ruṭ-Ṭeṭet gave birth to three male children, whom Isis named Userkaf, Saḥu-Rā, and Kakaâ, and for whom Meskhenet prophesied sovereignty over the entire land. The goddesses then came out of the birth-chamber and announced to Rā-user that three children had been born to him, and when he heard this news he wished to make a gift of barley to them; the goddesses accepted the gift, and departed, but finally they brought the barley back, and having placed it in royal diadems, presumably for the three children, they caused it to be stored in a secret chamber of Rā-user's house. Whensoever this chamber was visited after this time, sounds of singing, and music, and dancing were heard to come forth from it. The exact interpretation which is to be put on this legend is not clear, but the legend itself is very old, and it may well date from the time of the Vth Dynasty; it has value chiefly from the point of view of comparative folk-lore, but it is also important as indicating the order of the succession of the first three kings of the Vth Dynasty.

3.  KAKAÀ.

As the name of this king follows that of Saḥu-Rā in the Tablet of Abydos, and also in the Westcar Papyrus, it is placed in that order here; in the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra the two names which follow that of Saḥu-Rā are :—

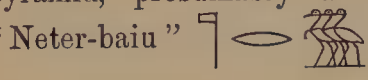
 RĀ-NEFER-ÀRI-KA.

 RĀ-SHEPSES-KA.

It has been suggested that Kakaà is the "son-of-the-Sun" name of Rā-nefer-àri-ka or of Rā-shepses-ka, but there is no satisfactory evidence to support either view. At this juncture Manetho also fails us, for he gives the names of kings Nephercheres, Sisires, and Choires as the successors of Saḥu-Rā, and says that they reigned twenty, seven, and twenty years respectively; it is possible that Nephercheres is the equivalent of the Egyptian name Rā-nefer-àri-ka, which is given by the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra. The pyramid which this last named king built, probably at Abuṣîr, was called "Ba" .

4.  RĀ-NEFER-F.

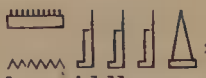
This name follows that of Kakaà in the Tablet of Abydos, and may be the equivalent of the king called

 RĀ-KHĀ-NEFER in the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra; the name ḤERU-Ȧ-KA-U  which occurs in the tombs of the Vth Dynasty[1] may be the "son-of-the-Sun" name of Rā-nefer-f or of Rā-khā-nefer, if this king ever existed. Rā-nefer-f built a pyramid, presumably at Abuṣîr, which was called "Neter-baiu" .

5.  RĀ-EN-USER, son of the Sun, ȦN, *'Paθούρης*.

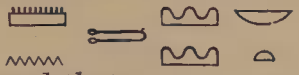


ÂST-ÀB-TAUI, the Horus name of Rā-en-user.

RĀ-EN-USER, the Rathures of Manetho, who is said to have reigned forty-four years, is also styled in the inscriptions, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet" , "and the seat of the heart of the divine Horus of gold" , and thus, with his Horus name, was the possessor of five names. He built a pyramid[2] which he called "Men-âst" , and which has been identified with the middle one of the three large pyramids which are found at Abuṣîr; he also waged war in the

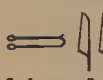
See Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, pp. 198, 199.

[2] His name is also found upon a pyramid at Riḳḳa; see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

Peninsula of Sinai, for a relief on the rocks in the Wâdî Maghâra represents him in the act of clubbing a native, and in the text he is called the subduer of all the double land of Menthu .[1] It must, however, be remembered that by this time the Egyptians had obtained such a sure footing in the Peninsula that almost as a matter of course the courtiers of each king would take care that a rock relief should be cut in the Wâdî Maghâra, in which he would be represented in the traditional attitude of the conqueror of the country.



Usr-en-Rā, King of Egypt.

During the reign of this king there flourished the high official Thi , who built for himself one of the most interesting of the maṣṭaba tombs which have been spared to us; he was a close personal friend of the king, and he held a number of the most important civil

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bl. 152*a*.

and religious offices. He was the chief reader, and overseer of the priests and scribes, and overseer of the sacred building and domains which the king had dedicated to the service of Rā, and president of the palace, and superintendent of the royal works, and director of the private business of the king in every place, and secretary to his majesty, and overseer of the pyramids of Rā-nefer-ârі-ka, and Rā-en-user, etc. The inscriptions in his tomb mention neither his father nor his mother, and there is nothing in them which indicates that he was of noble birth; his wife, however, was a "royal kinswoman" called Nefer-ḥetep-s, and she held the office of priestess to the goddesses Hathor and Neith. Whether Thi attained to the various important offices which he held by merit or through the influence of his wife cannot be said.[1] The chief features of interest in the tomb of Thi are the bas-reliefs, which are, probably, the best of their class which have ever been seen; the figures of human beings are depicted according to the conventional canon which was then in use, and the work is excellent, but the figures of the animals and inanimate objects are wholly admirable. The scenes depict the feeding and fattening of birds, the reaping and winnowing of corn, the ploughing of the land and the sowing of seed, the treading in of the corn by flat-horned rams, carpenters at work sawing planks and making articles of furniture, etc., boat builders building a boat, men lopping branches off trees, etc. It is in-

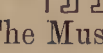
[1] De Rougé, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

teresting to note that in one relief a dwarf leading an ape is represented, and in another the emptying of fish out of a wicker basket in which they have been caught; the basket in form closely resembles the bottle-shaped reed basket which the natives who live along the banks of the Tigris employ for catching fish to this day.

6.  MEN-KAU-HERU, Μενχερής.



MEN-KHĀU, the Horus name of Ḥeru-men-kāu.

Ḥeru-men-kau, the Menkheres of Manetho, is said to have reigned nine years; he carried on the mining works in the Peninsula of Sinai, where a mutilated relief containing his Horus and other names is found. He built a pyramid, presumably at Abuṣîr, which was called "Neter-åst" , but it has not, as yet, been identified. The Museum of the Louvre possesses a bas-relief wherein we have what appears to be a fine portrait figure of the king Ḥeru-men-kau; it is a beautiful piece of work. The slab was found by Mariette in a wall of the Serapeum at Ṣaḳḳâra, where it was probably taken from the funeral chapel which was built in front of the pyramid of the king. Doubts[1] have been cast upon the antiquity of the relief,

[1] Krall, *Grundriss der Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 21.

but, as said de Rougé, who also gave a reproduction [1] of the monument, the surface of the stone proves that it was exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a very long time before it was buried in the wall of the Tomb of Apis. The king is represented as a young man, and he wears a helmet, the front of which is ornamented with the uraeus, the symbol of royalty. In the right hand he grasps the emblem of "life" ☥ and the "Kherp" sceptre, and in the left he holds a long staff; attached to his costume is the tail of some animal, the custom of wearing which as a part of the dress was introduced into Egypt in predynastic times. Above his head is the vulture goddess Nekhebet, "the lady of heaven, and mistress of the two lands," who holds in one claw the symbol of a ring ⵔ, *shen*, typical of the sovereignty which she has bestowed upon the king, and other emblems; her wings are stretched out over him, and indicate that he is under the protection of the goddess.



Men-kau-ḥeru, King of Egypt.

[1] *Six Premières Dynasties Égyptiennes*, p. 99, and plate vi.

7.  Rā-ṭeṭ-ka, son of the Sun, Åssȧ, *Ταγχέρης*.

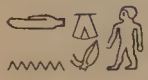


Ṭetkhāu, the Horus name of Åssȧ.

Rāṭeṭka, i.e., Ṭeṭ-ka-Rā, Åssȧ, the Tancheres of Manetho, is said to have reigned forty-four years; the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra gives the prenomen of this king as Rā-Maāt-ka , but the fact that Rāṭeṭka and Åssȧ represent one and the same king was discovered so far back as the time of Champollion-Figeac.[1] In the fourth year of his reign Åssȧ caused his Horus and other names to be inscribed in the traditional manner upon the rocks in the Wâdî Maghâra, and his cartouche is also found on the rocks in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, i.e., the "Rehenu Valley,"  of the hieroglyphic inscriptions; thus the working of the copper and turquoise mines in the Peninsula of Sinai was continued, and under Åssȧ the Egyptians apparently opened new quarries from which to obtain hard stone suitable for statues and certain parts of buildings in general. The Wâdî Ḥammâmât formed a very ancient highway between Ḳena in Upper Egypt and Ḳuṣêr on the Red Sea, and it is probable that from time immemorial all the merchandise and traffic from the East

[1] *Égypte Ancienne*, p. 284; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

entered Egypt by this route; the quarries there contain large numbers of inscriptions which were cut in the rocks by the officials who were sent there to carry on work for the Pharaohs, and, as these frequently mention the names of their royal masters, we see that the quarries in the Valley were worked from the Vth Dynasty to the time of the Persians. Hard sandstone and granite were the principal kinds of stone quarried there.

Ássá built a pyramid, presumably at Abuṣîr, and called it "Nefer," , i.e., the "Beautiful." According to the inscription of Ḥer-khuf, which was discovered in a tomb of the VIth Dynasty at Aswân, and which is now in the Museum at Cairo,[1] king Ássá sent one of his high officials to the land of the ghosts, , to bring back a pygmy, "ṭenḳ," , that he might dance before him and amuse him; the official was called Ba-ur-Ṭeṭ, , and it seems that he made his way into the pygmy country by way of Nubia, and having reached Punt, , he secured the pygmy and returned to Egypt, where the king bestowed high honours upon him. These facts are of considerable importance, for they show that in the Vth and VIth Dynasties the kings of Egypt were in the habit of sending to the

[1] See Vol. I., p. 197.

South for pygmies, and it would seem that they only followed the example set by their predecessors in the Ist Dynasty, for in the small chambers close to the tomb of Semempses the skeletons of two dwarfs, and two stelae on which dwarfs were depicted, were found.[1] It is possible that the country of the pygmies extended much further to the north than it does now, but even so a journey from Memphis to the great Central African Lakes, if not further, must have been a hazardous undertaking, and he who performed it successfully well deserved any honour that could be bestowed upon him. Among the famous men who flourished in the reign of Ássá must be specially mentioned the "governor of the town," Ptaḥ-ḥetep, but whether he is to be identified with the Ptaḥ-ḥetep whose maṣṭaba tomb still exists at Ṣaḳḳâra is not certain. Ptaḥ-ḥetep, the contemporary of Ássá, wrote a number of "Precepts," which are made known to us in the famous papyrus which was purchased and published by Prisse d'Avennes,[2] and which is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This papyrus is not older than the XIIth Dynasty, but it is clear from the archaic forms and words which occur in the chapters that they belong to a far older period, and that the composition must have remained practically untouched by the copyist; this fact is proved by the last word of the copy, in which the scribe says, "It hath

[1] See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, p. 13.

[2] *Facsimile d'un papyrus Égyptien en caractères hiératiques, trouvé à Thèbes*, Paris, 1847.

"gone out (i.e., Here endeth the document) from the "beginning to the end thereof, according as it was found "in the writing."[1] These "Precepts" show that the Egyptians in the Vth Dynasty possessed moral ideas of a very high character, and that their conceptions of truth, justice, duty, humanity, and of a man's duty towards his neighbour, were not inferior to the counsels on the same subjects which are to be found in the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. A few extracts from them will be found in the next chapter.

8.  UNÀS Ὄννος.



UATCH-TAUI, the Horus name of UNÀS.

UNÀS, the Onnos of Manetho, and the last king of the Vth Dynasty, is said to have reigned thirty-three years; he was the immediate successor of Àssà, and de Rougé thought that he was associated with this king in the rule of the kingdom. He is said to have built a temple to Hathor at Memphis, and it seems that he carried on quarrying operations in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât; he built a pyramid at Ṣaḳḳâra which he called "Ṭeṭ



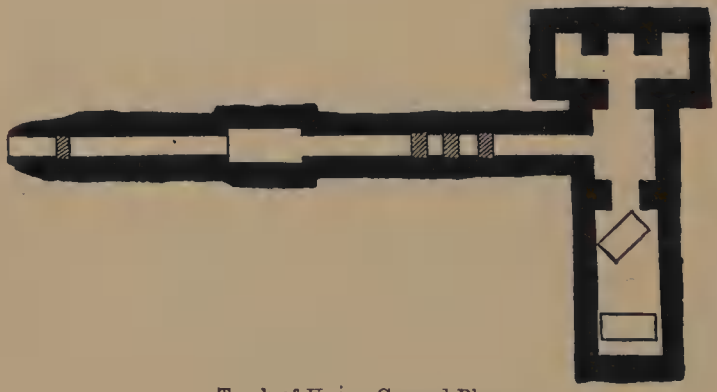
Àst" . It was thought for some time by Mariette that this pyramid was represented by the ruins at Dahshûr to which the name Maṣṭabat al-Fir'aûn, "Pharaoh's Bench (or Bed)," has been given by the Arabs, because the name of Unàs was found on some of the blocks of stone there. This, however, was disproved by the results of the excavations made at Ṣaḳḳâra by M. Maspero in 1881, when it was found that Unàs was buried in the pyramid which is numbered IV. on the plan of Perring, and XXXV. on the plan of Lepsius. The pyramid of Unàs stands a little to the south-west of the great Step Pyramid, and was broken into and pillaged in the IXth century of our era; when complete it was about sixty-two feet high, and the length of each side at the base was about 220 feet. The slanting corridor, by which the pyramid is entered, is about 23 feet long, and ends in an empty, uninscribed chamber; a corridor about 19 feet long, with sides of fine calcareous stone, leads out of it to a passage about 27 feet long, built of granite, which was closed by means of three massive blocks of granite which slid down in grooves after the manner of portcullises, and out of this a short passage, about five feet long, the sides of which are covered with inscriptions, leads into the ante-chamber. On the left hand is a short passage leading to the serdâb, and on the right is another short passage which leads to the mummy chamber. Many of the walls of these chambers and corridors are covered with vertical lines of hieroglyphics inlaid with green paste.

The sarcophagus is of black basalt, and its cover was wrenched off with violence by the thieves who broke into the tomb. The mummy had been broken in pieces, and all that remained of it were the right arm, a tibia, fragments of the skull, and the ribs, and some of the



Tomb of Unàs—Section.

linen bandages; these are all preserved in the Museum at Cairo. The accompanying plan, copied from that of M. Maspero, will give an idea of the general arrangement of the chambers and corridors of the pyramid,



Tomb of Unàs—Ground Plan.

which, it seems, formed the model in almost every respect, except for the selections of texts [1] inscribed on

[1] Transcripts of all these texts, printed in hieroglyphic type, were given with French translations by M. Maspero in the third and following volumes of *Recueil de Travaux*, Paris, 1882.

the walls, for the pyramids of the immediate successors of Unàs. As a building the pyramid of Unàs is of comparatively little interest, and it is chiefly of value as illustrating the decadence of the art of building such a monument; but viewed as a repository for the inscriptions which line many parts of the walls of its chambers and corridors, its value is inestimable. The inscriptions are the oldest Egyptian religious texts known to us, and as they illustrate better than anything else the views about the future life which were current at Ànnu, or Heliopolis, at that period, a few extracts from them are here given:—

I. "Behold Unàs cometh, behold Unàs cometh, behold "Unàs cometh forth! And if Unàs cometh not of his "own accord, thy message having come to him shall "bring him. Unàs maketh his way to his abode, and "the Cow goddess of the Great Lake boweth down before "him; none shall ever take away his food from the "Great Boat, and he shall not be repulsed at the White "House of the Great Ones by the region Meskhent on the "border of the sky. Behold, Unàs hath arrived at the "height of heaven, and he seeth his body in the evening "boat of the Sun, and he toileth therein; he hath "satisfied the uraeus in the morning boat of the "Sun, and hath washed it. The Ḥenmemet beings "have borne testimony concerning him, the winds and "storms of heaven have strengthened him, and they "introduce him to Rā. O make the two horizons of "heaven to embrace Unàs, so that he may go forth

"toward the horizon with Rā. O make the two horizons "of heaven to embrace Unȧs, so that he may go forth "towards the horizon along with Ḥeru-khuti (Har-"machis) and Rā. Unȧs is happily united to his double "(*ka*), his panther skin and his grain bag are upon him, "his whip is in his hand, his sceptre is in his grasp. "They bring to him the four Spirits who dwell in the "tresses of Horus, who stand on the eastern side of "heaven, and who are glorious by reason of their "sceptres, and they announce the fair name of Unȧs to "Rā, and they make him to escape from Neḥeb-kau, "and the soul of Unȧs liveth in the north of the "Sekhet-Ȧaru, and he saileth about in the Lake of "Kha. Whilst Unȧs saileth towards the east side "of the horizon, whilst he saileth, saileth towards the "east side of heaven, his sister, the star Sothis, giveth "him birth in the Underworld."

II. "He who setteth up the Ladder for Osiris is Rā, "and he who setteth up the ladder is Horus for his father "Osiris when he goeth forth to his soul; Rā is on one "side and Horus is on the other, and Unȧs is between "them, being indeed the god of holy dwelling-places "coming forth from the sanctuary. Unȧs standeth up "and is Horus; Unȧs sitteth down and is Set; Rā "receiveth him, soul in heaven and body in earth. "Those who are happy and who see [Unȧs], and those "who are content and who contemplate [him] are the "gods. If this god come forth towards heaven, Unȧs "also shall come forth towards heaven; and he shall

"have his souls with him, and his books shall be upon "both sides of him, and his inscribed amulets shall be "upon his feet, and the god Seb shall do for him what "hath been done for himself. The divine souls of the "city of Pe, and the divine souls of the city of Nekhen "shall come unto him, along with the gods of heaven "and the gods of earth, and they shall lift Unás up upon "their hands. Come forth, then, Unás, to heaven, and "enter therein in thy name of 'Ladder.' Heaven hath "been given unto Unás, and earth hath been given unto "him; this is the decree which Tem hath issued to Seb, "and the domains of Horus, and the domains of Set, and "the Sekhet-Áaru with their harvests adore thee in thy "name of Khonsu-Septi."

The following passage from the pyramid of Unás contains a myth of the hunting and devouring of the gods by the deceased in the Underworld which is probably based upon views and beliefs of a much earlier period, and it is intended to depict in words the terror which all creation would feel when it saw the king rise up in the life beyond the grave in the form of a god who devours "his fathers and mothers," and both men and gods. The passage runs[1]:—

"The heavens drop water, the stars throb, the "archers go round about, the bones of the Åkeru "gods tremble, and those who are in bondage to them "take to flight when they see Unás rise up as a soul, in

[1] For the text see *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iv. p. 59, vol. v. p. 50.

"the form of the god who liveth upon his fathers and "who maketh food of his mothers. Unàs is the lord of "wisdom, and his mother knoweth not his name. The "gifts of Unás are in heaven, and he hath become "mighty in the horizon like unto Temu, the father that "gave him birth, and after Temu gave him birth Unàs "became stronger than his father. The doubles of Unàs "are behind him, the sole of his foot is beneath his feet, "his gods are over him, his uraei are seated upon his "brow, the serpent guides of Unàs are in front of him, "and the spirit of the flame looketh upon [his] soul. "The powers of Unàs protect him; Unàs is a bull in "heaven, he directeth his steps whither he wills, he liveth "upon the form which each god taketh upon himself, "and he eateth the flesh of those who come to fill their "bellies with the words of power in the Lake of Fire. "Unàs is equipped with power against the shining "spirits thereof, and he riseth up in the form of the "mighty one, the lord of those who dwell in power. "Unàs hath taken his seat with his side turned towards "Seb. Unàs hath weighed his words with the hidden "god (?) who hath no name, on the day of hacking in "pieces the firstborn. Unàs is the lord of offerings, the "untier of the knot, and he himself maketh abundant "the offerings of meat and drink. Unàs devoureth men "and liveth upon the gods, he is the lord to whom offer-"ings are brought, and he counteth the lists thereof. "He that cutteth off hairy scalps and dwelleth in the "fields hath netted the gods in a snare; he that

"arrangeth his head hath considered them good for
"Unâs and hath driven them unto him; and the cord-
"master hath bound them for slaughter. Khonsu the
"slayer of [his] lords hath cut their throats and drawn
"out their inward parts, for it was he whom Unâs sent
"to drive them in; and Shesem hath cut them in pieces
"and boiled their members in his blazing cauldrons.
"Unâs hath eaten their words of power, and he hath
"swallowed their spirits; the great ones among them
"serve for his meal at daybreak, the lesser serve for his
"meal at eventide, and the least among them serve for his
"meal in the night. The old gods and the old goddesses
"become fuel for his furnace. The mighty ones in
"heaven shoot out fire under the cauldrons which are
"heaped up with the haunches of the firstborn; and he
"that maketh those who live in heaven to revolve round
"Unâs hath shot into the cauldrons the haunches of
"their women; he hath gone round about the two
"heavens in their entirety, and he hath gone round
"about the two banks of the celestial Nile. Unâs is the
"great Form, the Form of forms, and Unâs is the chief
"of the gods in visible forms. Whatsoever he hath
"found upon his path he hath eaten forthwith, and the
"word of power of Unâs is before that of all the sāḥu
"(i.e., spiritual bodies) who dwell in the horizon. Unâs
"is the firstborn of the firstborn. Unâs hath gone round
"thousands, and he hath offered oblations unto hundreds;
"he hath manifested his might as the great Form through
"Saḥ (Orion) [who is greater] than the gods. Unâs

"repeateth his rising in heaven, and he is the crown of "the lord of the horizon. He hath reckoned up the "bandlets and the arm-rings, he hath taken possession "of the hearts of the gods. Unàs hath eaten the red "crown, and he hath swallowed the white crown; the "food of Unàs is the inward parts, and his meat is those "who live upon the words of power in their hearts. Be- "hold, Unàs eateth of that which the red crown sendeth "forth, he increaseth, and the magical charms of the "gods are in his belly; that which belongeth to him is "not turned back from him. Unàs hath eaten the whole "of the knowledge of every god, and the period of his "life is eternity, and the duration of his existence is "everlastingness, in whatsoever form he wisheth to take; "in whatsoever form he hateth he shall not labour in "the horizon for ever and ever and ever. The soul of "the gods is in Unàs, their spirits are with Unàs, and "the offerings made unto him are more than those "made unto the gods. The fire of Unàs is in their "bones, for their soul is with Unàs, and their shades "are with those who belong unto them. Unàs hath "been with the two hidden Kha gods who are; "the seat of the heart of Unàs is among those who "live upon the earth for ever and ever."

CHAPTER IV.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY. FROM MEMPHIS.

1.  TETÀ, *Ὀθόης*.



SEHETEP-TAUI, the Horus name of Tetà.

TETÀ, the first king of the VIth Dynasty, the Othoes of Manetho, is said to have reigned thirty years, and to have been slain by his spearmen (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 104); of the details of his life nothing is known, and it seems as if he was neither a warrior nor a great builder. He built a pyramid at Ṣaḳḳâra which he called "Ṭeṭ-Âst" , and which in many respects resembles that of Unâs, which has been already described. The pyramid of Tetà is called by the Arabs the "Prison Pyramid," because it stands in the neighbourhood of some ancient ruins which local tradition

[1] See the vase in the British Museum (No. 29,204), where we have:— .

declares are the ruins of the prison of the patriarch Joseph. It was broken into in ancient days by plunderers, who succeeded in forcing their way into its innermost parts, and finding nothing of value in the chambers, they devoted their energies to smashing the walls, in which they appear to have thought that treasure was concealed. The pyramid was excavated



Bull weight inscribed with the names of Tetà.
British Museum, No. 29,211.

in 1881, and paper squeezes of the inscriptions were made by MM. E. Brugsch and Bouriant.[1] The hieroglyphics are smaller than those in the Pyramid of Unàs, but larger than almost all those which are found in the Pyramid of Pepi I. The grayish basalt sarco-

[1] *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. v. p. 2.

phagus of the king had been broken into at one corner, and the mummy was dragged out through the hole made there; the only remains of Tetà found by M. Maspero consisted of an arm and shoulder, which seemed to show that the body had not been as carefully preserved as that of Unàs.

The religious compositions which are inscribed on the walls in Tetà's tomb are of great interest and importance as illustrating the views held by the Egyptians concerning the future life, and as specimens of their contents the following extracts are given:—

"Ye have taken Tetà to you, O ye gods, and he eateth "what ye eat, he drinketh what ye drink, he liveth "upon that upon which ye live, he sitteth down as ye "sit, he is mighty with the might which is yours, he "saileth about even as ye sail about; the house of Tetà "is a net in the Sekhet-Àaru, he hath streams of run- "ning water in Sekhet-ḥetep, the offerings of Tetà are "with you. O ye gods, the water of Tetà is as wine, "even as [is that of] Rā, Teta revolveth in heaven like "Rā, and he goeth round about the sky like Thoth "(line 59 ff.). The two doors of heaven are opened for "thee, O Tetà, for thou hast raised up thy head for "thy bones, and thou hast raised up thy bones for thy "head. Thou hast opened the two doors of heaven, "thou hast drawn back the great bolts, thou hast re- "moved the seal of the great door, and, with a face "like that of a jackal and a body like that of a fierce "lion, thou hast taken thy seat upon thy throne, and

"thou criest to the Spirits, 'Come to me! Come to
"'me! Come to Horus, who hath avenged his father,
"'for it is Tetà who will lead thee in.' Thou puttest
"thy hand upon the earth, and with thine arm thou
"doest battle in the Great Domain, and thou revolvest
"there among the Spirits, and thou standest up like
"Horus. Hail, Osiris Tetà, Horus hath come to
"embrace thee with his arms, and he hath made Thoth
"to drive away for thee in defeat the followers of Set,
"and he hath taken them captive on thy behalf, and
"he hath repulsed the heart of Set, for he is stronger
"than Set; and now, thou art come forth before him,
"and Seb hath watched thy journey, and he hath set
"thee in thy place and hath led unto thee thy two
"sisters Isis and Nephthys. Horus hath united thee
"unto the gods, and they show themselves as brothers
"unto thee in thy name 'Sent,' and they do not repulse
"thee in thy name 'Àtert.' He hath granted that the
"gods shall guard thee, and Seb hath set his sandal
"upon the head of thine enemy. Thou hast driven back
"[the enemy], thy son Horus hath smitten him, and he
"hath plucked out his own Eye and given it unto thee
"in order that thou mayest be strong thereby, and that
"thou mayest gain the mastery thereby among the
"Spirits. Horus hath permitted thee to hack thine
"enemy in pieces with this [Eye], he smiteth down
"thine enemy with it, for Horus is stronger than he is,
"and he passeth judgment upon his father who is in
"thee in thy name 'He whose father is stronger than

"'heaven.' The goddess Nut hath made thee to be a "god unto Set in thy name of 'God,' and thy mother "Nut hath spread out her two arms over thee in her "name of 'Coverer of heaven.' Horus hath smitten "Set, and he hath cast him down beneath thee, and "he beareth thee up and is a mighty one beneath "thee, inasmuch as he is the great one of the earth "which he ordereth in thy name of Tatcheser-ta. "Horus hath granted that Set shall be judged in his "heart in his house with thee, and he hath granted "that thou shalt smite him with thy hand whensoever "he doeth battle with thee. Hail, Osiris Tetà, Horus "hath avenged thee, and he hath caused his double "which is in thee [to make] thee to rest in thy name "of Ka-ḥetep (line 156 ff.). Nu hath adjudged Tetà "to the god Tem, and Peḳa hath adjudged Tetà to "Shu. He granteth that the two doors of heaven "shall be opened, and he hath decreed that Tetà shall "be among men without name; but behold, thou hast "grasped Tetà by the hand, and thou hast drawn him "to heaven so that he may never die upon earth among "men (line 198 ff.). This Tetà is Osiris and he hath "motion, this Tetà hath detestation of the earth and he "will not enter into Seb. This Teta hath broken for "ever his sleep in his dwelling which is upon earth. "The bones of Tetà flourish, and obstacles to him are "destroyed, for he is purified with the Eye of Horus. "The obstacles which he encountered are beaten down "by Isis and Nephthys, and Tetà hath cast to the earth

"his seed in Ḳes. The sister of this Teta, the lady of "the city of Pe, bewaileth him, and the two nurses who "created Osiris also created him; Teta is in heaven like "Shu and Rā (line 271 ff.). Rise up, Teta, and lift up "thy legs, O most mighty one, to go and seat thyself "among the gods, and do thou that which Osiris hath "done in the House of the Prince which is in Ânnu; "thou hast received thy spiritual body (*sāḥ*), and none "shall set bounds to thy foot in heaven, and none "shall repulse thee on earth. The spirits who are the "children of Nut, whom Nephthys hath suckled, have "gathered together to thee, thou standest up upon thy "strength, and thou doest that which thou must do for "thy spirit in the presence of all the spirits. Thou goest "to the city of Pe, thou art glorified, and returnest; "thou goest to the city of Nekhen, thou art glorified, "and returnest. Thou doest that which Osiris did, and "behold, this most mighty Spirit Teta is upon his "throne and standeth up, being provided [with all "things] like the goddess Sam-ur. None shall repulse "thee in any place wherein thou wouldst enter, and "none shall set bounds to thy foot concerning any "place wherein it pleaseth thee to be."

2.  RĀ-USER-KA.

Of RĀ-USER-KA, whose name follows that of Teta in the Tablet of Abydos, nothing is known, and in Mane-

tho's list no name occurs which can be its equivalent; the name which follows that of Tetà in the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra is that of the king of the South and North, ÀTI , and many Egyptologists have decided to identify him with Rā-user-ka, and some would make him the first king of the VIth Dynasty. An inscription in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât published by Lepsius[1] says that an official called Ptaḥ-neku, , came there in the first year of the reign of Àti to fetch stone for building the royal pyramid, which was called "Àti-baiu," , but other details of this king's rule are unknown.

3.  RĀ-MERI, son of the Sun, PEPI, *Φίος*.



MERI-TAUI, the Horus name of Pepi I.

MERI-RĀ, or PEPI I., the Phios of Manetho, who is said to have reigned fifty-three years, in addition to his other titles adopted those of "Lord of the shrines of the cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet," i.e., king of the South and North, and "three-fold hawk of gold" . Pepi seems to have made his rule over Egypt of a very effective character, and judging

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 115 f.; and see de Rougé, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

by the number of places wherein his names are found, he must have been an energetic and capable ruler. He worked the turquoise mines in the Wâdî Maghâra, and the inscriptions indicate that he found it necessary to put down with a strong hand a confederation of the tribes of the Sinaitic Peninsula who



Alabaster vase inscribed with the names and titles of Pepi I.
British Museum, No. 22,559.

are described collectively as "Menthu" .
In a relief on the rocks we see the king clubbing a representative of these peoples in the presence of the winged disk, and above him are his titles with the additional appellations of "Beautiful god" and "Lord of

the two lands."[1] [2] Strictly speaking, the invasions of the Peninsula of Sinai by the Egyptians were undertaken at this period more for the purposes of trade than for the extension of the boundaries of the Egyptian Empire. In the Wâdî Ḥammâmât the king's agents were very active, and numerous inscriptions there indicate that many quarries were worked there during his reign. The granite quarries near Aswân, and further up in the First Cataract, were also worked by him, and it is probable that the granite statues, etc., which were set up during his reign at Tanis were hewn in them. In short, the reign of Pepi was a reign of industrial progress, and although he did not leave behind him a mighty pyramid like Khufu to prove to posterity that he was a great builder, his reign was one which left a deep mark for good upon the handicrafts of Egypt. In connection with handicrafts must be mentioned the wonderful life-size statue of the king, made of plates of copper or bronze, fastened together with nails of the same material, which was found by Mr. Quibell in the course of his excavations at Hierakonpolis; with it was also found a statue of his son which was rather more than two feet high. The copper statue was, unfortunately, discovered in a state of collapse, but the portions of it which had been cleaned and re-joined, when the writer saw them in the Museum of Gîzeh, testified to the great skill to which the workers

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 115.

[2] He also styled himself MERI-KHAT; compare the text in his pyramid, line 65.

in bronze in Pepi's time had attained, and it is much to be regretted that the ravages of time, and perhaps of Egypt's enemies, have not permitted us to see in a complete form an object in bronze which, for its age and size, is as remarkable as any work of antiquity of the period. The face shows that the artist who designed the statue wished to give to it the repose and dignity



Inscription from a bronze seal-cylinder inscribed with the name and titles of Pepi I. British Museum, No. 5495.

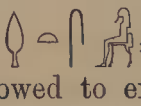
which are seen on the best stone statues of the period, and it is clear that both artist and artisans must have had considerable experience in the manipulation of metal before they could attempt to produce a bronze figure of life size. It is noticeable, too, that the artist gave additional life to the face by his method of treating the eyes, a process already somewhat familiar to us

from the fine stone statues of life size of the earlier dynasties.

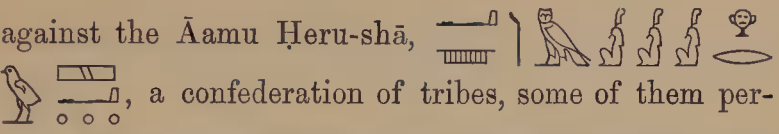
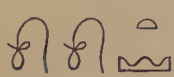
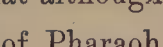
It goes without saying that Pepi must have been served by a number of skilled as well as loyal officials, and among these worthy of special mention is Unà , and, as he gives a short autobiography of himself cut in hieroglyphics upon a slab in his tomb,[1] the important information which he gives us may be regarded as authentic. Unà began life under king Tetà, that is to say, he "tied a girdle" upon himself under the Majesty of Tetà; the exact signification of the phrase is doubtful, but it seems to me that in Tetà's time he was old enough to be charged with certain duties by the king. After the death of his first patron Tetà, Unà came under the notice of Pepi I., who confirmed him in his appointments, and soon promoted him to the rank of *smer*, and made him inspector of the priests who were attached to the service of his pyramids. Unà was next made a judge, and his relations with the king were of such a confidential nature that he was allowed to be present in the palace while some case in connection with certain ladies of the king's household was tried there by the chief officer of the law. Apparently in reward for his services on this occasion the king presented to him a white stone sarcophagus, with its cover, and with the slabs of stone necessary for building the door, i.e.,

[1] The original text is given by Mariette, Abydos, tom. ii. plates 44, 45; the first English rendering of it was given by Dr. Birch (*Records of the Past*, 1st ser. vol. ii. p. 1 ff.).

the side posts, lintel, and threshold, and His Majesty sent the divine chancellor, , with a company of troops to the quarry of Re-āu,[1] , which is situated on the eastern bank of the Nile in almost a straight line with the pyramids of Zâwiyet al-'Aryân on the western bank, and about ten miles to the south of the modern Cairo. Such an honour as this had never been paid to any servant before, says Unà, and he adds, "but I was good, and I was well pleasing "unto His Majesty, and I satisfied the heart of His "Majesty."

The king next made Unà a "smer uāt," and overseer of the palace, and his duties brought him into still closer relations with his master, but he performed them with such tact and address that Pepi was entirely satisfied with him. Soon after this the king had a dispute of a serious character with the chief royal wife Amtes, , and Unà was the only official who was allowed to enter into the lady's apartment to investigate the matter; he afterwards, with the help of a judge, drew up a statement on the matter for the king, who was wholly satisfied with the manner in which the case had been inquired into by his trusty servant. Subsequently king Pepi found it necessary to wage war

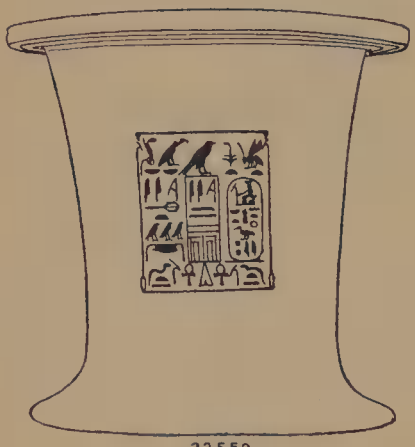
[1] In Strabo's day a district near the quarry bore the name Τροία, and there is no doubt that he is referring to the same quarry, for he says that the stone for building the pyramids came from there, and that it was opposite them; see Book XVII. i. 34.

against the Āamu Ḥeru-shā, , a confederation of tribes, some of them perhaps of Semitic origin, who were causing trouble in the Eastern parts of the Egyptian kingdom, and especially in Sinai; whether on his own initiative, or whether on that of Unà cannot be said, but it is certain that Pepi decided to fight these bold desert men with blacks drawn from the Eastern Sûdân. Unà forthwith began to raise men in tens of thousands from all parts of Egypt and from Setcher, and Khen-setcher, and levies of negroes from Àrerthet, , and from Tcham, , and from Àmam, , from Uauat, , and from Kaau, , and from Ta-thām, , or Thameh, i.e., Libya. It is impossible to state the exact position and limits of each of these countries, but the peoples indicated formed, no doubt, the most powerful of all the desert tribes that lived in the Nile Valley between Aswân on the north and Gebel Barkal on the south. At the head of this great army of men Pepi placed Unà, and this capable official naïvely remarks that although he had been only an overseer of the house of Pharaoh,  Per-āa, it was he who gave the word of command not only to the army, but to all the generals and nobles who were attached to the expedition; and his command was so

strict that each man was compelled to perform the duties which were allotted to him, and none of the levies plundered the people through whom they passed of bread or sandals, and no man stole bread from any village, and no man carried off the animal, ram, or ewe, which belonged to the inhabitants. In due course the expedition marched against the Ḥeru-shā and defeated them, and the havoc which it wrought must have been terrible. In its passage through the enemy's land it slew the people by tens of thousands, it cut down the vines and fig-trees, it overthrew the villages, and laid waste the fields, and having burnt all that could be burnt, carried off the wretched remainder of the inhabitants, and "returned in peace"! For these acts Unȧ received the greatest commendation from the king, and he tells us that he was sent on similar punitive or raiding expeditions five times. On one occasion he had to pursue the Ḥeru-shā in boats, and having landed near the northern part of their territory, he fell upon their army and slew them to a man. Soon after these events Pepi the king died, and was succeeded by his son Mer-en-Rā. The new king at once appointed Unȧ to be the bearer of his chair and sandals, and he made him a *ḥā* prince, , and governor of Upper Egypt; this indefatigable official performed his duties with such zeal and discretion that his new master was as pleased with him as his old one. Unȧ declares that the excellence of conduct which he practised in the performance of his duties in Upper Egypt was such that it

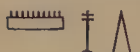
ought to become the standard for that of the governors who should succeed him. While Unà held the offices already described his king despatched him to the district of Àbhat, , to bring back a stone sarcophagus, with its cover, and a small pyramid, etc., all of which were to be placed in the royal pyramid; he was also sent to Ābu (Elephantine Island) to bring back slabs of granite which were to serve as false doors, etc., in the pyramid, and in the famous quarry of Ḥet-nub, near the modern Tell el-Amarna, he hewed an alabaster table of offerings. All these massive objects he floated down the river in boats of very broad beam, and they were transported in due course to their places in the pyramid. Finally Unà was sent to the First Cataract to make arrangements for the bringing of a larger supply of granite for the building of the royal pyramid, and he went there and seems to have cleared out the canal in the Cataract sufficiently to admit of the entrance of a number of boats of broad beam, which he had been ordered to build for the transport of the granite required. The chiefs of the Nubian tribes against whom he had fought five times cut down the wood for him, and having built the boats he loaded them heavily with granite, and floated them down to Memphis; he brings his autobiography to a conclusion by telling us that he was enabled to do all these things because he prayed unto the "souls," , of his king more than to any other god, and because everything happened according as it had been

commanded to happen by the behest of the "double,"  *Ka*, of the king. It seems that large hollows were dug in quarry beds when the Nile was low, and that large, flat-bottomed barges were built in them; the blocks of granite were moved on to these barges, which were built quite near the spot whence the blocks were hewn, and when the Nile rose the barges floated easily and were towed out into the main stream and floated down the river. The last paragraph of Unâ's inscription is of considerable interest, for it proves that dead kings were worshipped as gods, and that the affairs of this world were believed to be directed by the doubles of living kings.



22559

Alabaster vase inscribed with the names and titles of Pepi I.
British Museum, No. 22,559.

Pepi I. built a pyramid at Ṣaḳḳâra which was called [1] "Men-nefer," ; it was opened by Mariette in 1880, but was not cleared out until the beginning of 1881. According to Perring, on whose map it was marked No. 5, the outer covering of this pyramid was built entirely of well-cut blocks of stone which were

[1] The Arabs called it the "Pyramid of Shêkh abu Mansûr."

quarried on the eastern banks of the river; and the greater number of them had already in his time been removed by the natives for the purpose of building houses, tombs, and the foundations of water-wheels, which has also been the case with the outer stone coverings of pyramids in the Sûdân. The actual height of the pyramid in Perring's day was 40 feet, and the length of each side at the base 240 feet. The internal construction of the pyramid of Pepi is much the same as that of the pyramids of Unàs and Tetà, and the walls of its various parts were covered in many places with inscriptions. It was entered in ancient times by thieves, who broke the granite sarcophagus, and smashed its cover in pieces, and wrecked the mummy of the king; in one corner of the sarcophagus chamber was a small red granite chest, which at one time held the Canopic jars and the alabaster vases which were deposited in the tomb. Paper impressions of the inscriptions were made by E. Brugsch Bey and others, and the complete text was published, with a French translation, by M. Maspero.[1] The pyramid of Pepi has a modern interest also, for the inscriptions in it disproved a view, which M. Mariette held with considerable tenacity, to the effect that pyramids never did contain any inscriptions inside them, and that it was only waste of time and money to open them; he carried his view so far that, when shown the paper squeezes bearing the

[1] See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. v. p. 157 ff.

characters , *Pepi pen*, i.e., "this Pepi," he declared that the pyramid was only a masṭaba of very large dimensions which belonged to an individual called Pepi-pen.[1]

The following extract will illustrate the character of the contents of the inscriptions inside the pyramid of Pepi (line 1 ff.):—"Hail, thou Pepi, thou journeyest "on, thou art glorious, thou hast gotten power like the "god who is on his throne, that is, Osiris. Thou hast "thy soul within thy body, thou hast thy power behind "thee, thy *ureret* crown is upon thy head, thy head-"dress is upon thy shoulder[s], thy face is in front of "thee, those who acclaim thee are on both sides of "thee, the followers of the God are following after thee, "the spiritual bodies (*sāḥu*) of the God are upon both "sides of thee, and they make the God to come; the God "cometh and Pepi cometh upon the throne of Osiris. "The Spirit which dwelleth in the city of Neṭàt cometh, "and the power which dwelleth in the nome of Teni. "Isis speaketh with thee, and Nephthys holdeth converse "with thee; the Spirits come unto thee paying homage "[unto thee], and they bow down, even to the ground, "at thy feet by reason of thy book, O Pepi, in the cities "of Sàa. Thou comest forth before thy mother Nut, and "she strengtheneth thine arm and she giveth unto thee "a path in the horizon to the place where Rā is. The "doors of heaven are opened for thee, the gates of Qebḥu

[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

"are unbolted for thee, thou findest Rā, who guardeth "thee, and he strengtheneth for thee thy hand, and "he guideth thee into the northern and southern "heavens, and he setteth thee upon the throne of "Osiris.

"Hail, thou Pepi, the Eye of Horus cometh unto thee "and holdeth converse with thee, thy soul which dwelleth "with the gods cometh unto thee, and thy Power (*sekhem*) "which dwelleth among the Spirits cometh unto thee. "In the same way that the son avenged his father, "in the same way that Horus avenged Osiris, even so "shall Horus avenge Pepi upon his enemies. And thou "shalt stand [there], O Pepi, avenged, and armed, and "provided with the forms of Osiris who is upon the throne "of the Governor of Àmenti, and thou shalt have thy "being as he hath his among the indestructible Spirits. "And thy soul shall stand up upon thy throne provided "with thy attribute[s], and it shall have its being as "thou hast thine in the presence of him who is the "Governor of the Living Ones, according to the decree "of Rā, the great god, who shall plough the wheat and "the barley and give it unto thee as a gift therein. "Hail, thou Pepi, it is Rā who hath given unto thee all "life and strength for ever, along with thy speech and "thy body. And thou hast received the attribute[s] of "the God, and thou hast become great therein before the "Gods who dwell on the lake. Hail, thou Pepi, thy "soul standeth among the gods and among the Spirits, "and the fear of thee constraineth their hearts. Hail,

"Pepi, inasmuch as thou hast set thyself upon thy "throne of the Governor of the Living, thy book it is "which worketh upon their hearts; and thy name liveth "upon earth, and groweth old upon earth, and thou shalt "neither perish nor decay for ever and ever. Rise thou "up, O Pepi, stand thou up, O thou of great strength, "and take thy seat at the head of the gods; and do thou "the things which Osiris did in the house of the Prince "in Ȧnnu (On). Thou hast received thy spiritual body, "and thy foot shall not be restrained in heaven, and thou "shalt not be repulsed upon earth.

"Hail, Osiris Pepi, arise, stand up, for thy mother "Nut hath given birth unto thee, and Seb hath ar- "ranged thy mouth for thee. The Great Company of "the gods have avenged thee, and they have put thine "enemies beneath thee. Pepi is pure. Pepi hath "taken his staff, he hath provided himself with his "throne, and he hath taken his seat in the boat of the "Great and Little Companies of the gods; Rā trans- "porteth Pepi to the West, and he stablisheth the "throne of Pepi above the lords of the doubles (*kau*), "and he writeth down Pepi at the head of the living. "The Peḥ-ka which dwelleth in Qebḥ is opened unto "this Pepi, and the iron which formeth the ceiling of the "sky is opened unto this Pepi, and he passeth through "onwards; his panther skin is upon him, and his sceptre "and flail are in his hand. And Pepi is sound with his "flesh, he is happy with his name, he liveth with his "double (*ka*). This Pepi is indeed a god, and the angel

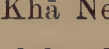
"of God. This Pepi cometh forth to the eastern part of "heaven where the gods are born, and where he himself "is born as Ḥeru-khuti. Pepi is a being who hath ac- "quired the power of making to come to pass everything "which he uttereth, and the double (*ka*) of Pepi hath the "same power. He eateth of that which ye (i.e., the gods) "eat, he liveth upon that upon which ye live, he putteth "on apparel like unto the apparel which ye put on, he "anointeth himself with the sweet-smelling substances "wherewith ye anoint yourselves, he receiveth his water "with you at the Lake of Menā of this Pepi, and he "drinketh it out of the vessels of the spirits. Pepi goeth "forth into heaven among the stars which never diminish, "his sister is Septet (Sothis), and his guide, the Morn- "ing Star, leadeth him to Sekhet-ḥetep, and he seateth "himself there upon his iron throne which hath lions' "heads, and feet in the form of the hoofs of the bull "Sema-ur. He standeth up there in his vacant place "between the two great gods, and his sceptre, which is "in the form of a papyrus, he hath with him. He "stretcheth out his hand over the *ḥenmemet* beings, "and the gods come to him bending their backs in "homage. The two great gods watch one on each "side of him, and they find Pepi, like the Great and "Little Companies of the gods, acting as the judge "of words, being the prince [over] every prince. They "bow down before Pepi, and they make offerings unto "him as unto the Great and Little Companies of the "gods."

4. 

RĀ-MER-EN, son of the Sun, MEḤTI-EM-SA-F,[1] *Μεθουσουφίς*.



ĀNKH-KHĀU, the Horus name of Rā-mer-en.

RĀ-MER-EN, or MER-EN-RĀ, MEḤTI-EM-SA-F, the Methusuphis of Manetho, is said to have reigned seven years, but of the details of this short reign nothing is known. Inscriptions at Aswân[3] and in Wâdî Ḥammâmât prove that work was carried on in the quarries at these places, and we may gather from the inscription of Unâ, which has been quoted above, that the activity in building, which began in Pepi's reign, was maintained during that of his son. Mer-en-Rā built a pyramid at Ṣaḳḳâra which is called "Khā Nefer," , in the ancient Egyptian texts, and by the modern Arabs "Haram eṣ-Ṣayyâdîn," i.e., the "Pyramid of the Hunters." This pyramid, which is No. 8 of Perring's plan, was opened by M. Mariette in January, 1880;

[1] The reading of the first character of this name is doubtful.

[2] Other titles were , , and , and .

[3] Here the king is seen standing on the emblem of the union of the South and North in the presence of the god Khnemu; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 116*b*.

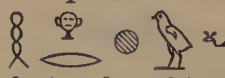
in Perring's time it was about 88 feet high, and each side of the base was about 260 feet long. It was broken into and plundered by robbers, who not only wrecked the mummy of the king, but smashed the walls and dug a large hole in the masonry of the floor, in their frantic search for treasure. They forced up the lid of the black granite sarcophagus, and succeeded in pushing it off far enough to enable them to drag out the mummy, and stripped it naked. The pyramid was again entered at the beginning of the XIXth century[1] by the natives of Ṣaḳḳâra, who brought out from it a number of the inscribed alabaster vases which are now so well known. The mummified remains of the king are now preserved in the Museum at Cairo, and M. Maspero declares that an examination of the body proves that Mer-en-Rā must have died when he was very young. The features are well preserved, but the lower jaw is wanting; to the right side of the head the "lock of youth" was still attached when the remains were discovered in the pyramid. The above facts prove that the arts of embalming and swathing the bodies of the



Alabaster vase inscribed with the names and titles of Mer-en-Rā. British Museum, No. 4493.

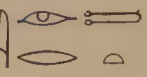
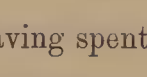
[1] Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. ix. p. 178.

dead had reached a high pitch of perfection in the VIth Dynasty.

The inscriptions[1] which cover certain parts of the passages and mummy chamber are, for the most part, identical with those already known from those found in the pyramids of Unàs, Tetà, and Pepi I.; the additional texts are merely amplifications of ideas, hinted at or expressed in earlier religious documents, and therefore need no illustrating by extracts here. We have already seen how Unà was employed in a confidential capacity by Pepi I., and how this able official was sent by Mer-en-Rā to the land of Àbhat to fetch the black granite sarcophagus, which still exists in his pyramid as a silent witness of the mechanical skill of the engineer of the day; we have now to notice an important piece of work which was performed by another high official called Ḥer-khuf. The tomb of this distinguished man at Aswân contains a valuable inscription[2] recording the chief episodes in his life, and thus we have authentic information about some very interesting events which took place during the reign of Mer-en-Rā. Ḥer-khuf, , was the son of a man of high rank in the old frontier city of Ābu (Elephantine, Syene), and he was related to the great chief Mekhu, whose tomb is at the top of the

[1] See Brugsch, *Zwei Pyramiden mit Inschriften* in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1881, pp. 1–15; and Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. ix. p. 179 ff.

[2] See Schiaparelli, *Una Tomba Egiziana*, Rome, 1892; and Maspero, *Revue Critique*, November 28, 1892.

staircase which is cut in the solid rock in the hill of Contra-Syene; he held the offices of chancellor and divine chancellor, and he was a "kher ḥeb" priest, and "smer uāt," a title usually explained to mean "only friend." The king Mer-en-Rā sent him with his father Ȧrȧ  to the country of Ȧmam, , in order to open out a [trade] route therein; the father and son made the journey in seven months, and returned laden with stuff of all kinds. The king was so pleased with the result of the expedition that he sent Ḥer-khuf again to the south, and this time he went without his father; passing by Ābu (Syene), , he went to Ȧrerthet, , and Meskher, , and Terres, , and Ȧrertheth, , and having spent eight months in travelling he returned to Egypt laden with goods of all kinds. He tells us that he visited the courts of Sethu, , and Ȧrerthet, and that this had never been done by any official of Ābu before. Again the king was pleased, and again sent him to Ȧmam, and he marched thither by way of an Oasis (Uḥat, ); as he was travelling on his way he found that the king of Ȧmam was marching to battle with the king of the land of Themeḥ ,

i.e., Libya, in the west, and joining him he gave him gifts and went with him to Themeḥ. Ḥer-khuf was very successful in this his third mission, for he persuaded the king of Àmam to send a company of his soldiers with him to Egypt, and it is clear that they were intended to form an escort for the 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, ivory, skins of animals, boomerangs, etc., which were going with him to Memphis. On the way back he passed through the lands of Àrerthet, Sethu, and Uauat, and when the king of these countries saw the large company of soldiers who were with Ḥer-khuf, he was astonished, and hastened to send him a gift of oxen and goats. It is interesting to note that Ḥer-khuf tells us that, as he was going down the river, he met his brother-official Unà on his way up to meet him with a number of boats, laden with wine and other luxuries, which Mer-en-Rā had sent to him as a reward for all the toil and labour of his travels. This narrative is one of considerable interest, but it would be much more valuable if we could find out exactly how far Ḥer-khuf went towards the south. The mention of ivory and ebony naturally leads us to think of the country near Dar-Fûr, and even further south, but it must also be remembered that the home of these products was then probably very much farther to the north than it is at the present time. The expeditions undertaken by Ḥer-khuf were of a trading character, and it says much for the tact and ability of this official that his journeys were so successful.

5.  Rā-nefer-ka, son of the Sun, Pepi, *Φίωψ*.



Neter Khāu, the Horus name of Pepi II.

Rā-nefer-ka, or Nefer-ka-Rā, Pepi II., or Phiops, was the brother of Mer-en-Rā, and son of Pepi I.; according to Manetho, he began to reign when he was six years old, and "he reigned until he had completed his "hundredth year" (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 104). Of the details of the long reign of this king nothing is known. On a rock in the Wâdî Maghâra is a fine relief in which we see the Horus name and prenomen of the king placed together in his *serekh* or cognizance, while above it is the hawk of Horus wearing the crowns of the South and North; the inscription on the right shows that it was executed in the second year of the reign of Pepi II., and that on the left records the names of his mother and wife.[1] A number of small inscriptions prove that the works went on in the large quarries during his reign as in the time of his predecessors, but the reliefs and texts which are found in maṣṭaba tombs of the period have not the beauty, accuracy, and finish which are such characteristic qualities of the work of the early years of the Early Empire. Pepi II. built a pyramid at Ṣaḳḳâra which the ancient Egyptians called

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. plate 116.

"Men-ānkh," , but to which their modern representatives have given the name "Haram (Pyramid) al-Maṣṭaba," because it is situated near the building which is commonly called "Maṣṭabat al-Fir'aun." On the plan of Lepsius it is marked No. 41, and on that of Perring No. 9; in his time its actual height was 95 feet, and the length of each side at the base was 245 feet.



4492

Alabaster vase inscribed with the name and titles of Pepi II. British Museum, No. 4492.

This pyramid was opened in 1881 by M. Maspero, who found it to be so badly built that the workmen were in serious danger of the sides of the places which they were clearing out falling in upon them; as it was, MM. Bouriant and Maspero were shut in for several hours[1] on one occasion, owing to a sudden collapse of a part of the vaulted roof. The plan of the pyramid of Pepi II. is identical with the other four of the class which we have already described, and the inscriptions in it are of the same character as the inscriptions in the others; indeed it is quite clear that all five were planned by one group, perhaps even by one

[1] See *Recueil*, tom. xii. p. 56.

family, of architects, and the inscriptions were probably chosen for all of them by the priests who were attached to the same religious brotherhood, i.e., the priests of Rā-Temu of Heliopolis. The pyramid of Pepi II. was, like the others, broken into by Arab spoilers, who left behind them one or two green glazed earthenware lamps. One of the workmen[1] related to M. Maspero that his grandfather, as a child, had worked in the excavations which were made at the end of the XVIIIth century by the people of the village of Ṣaḳḳâra with the view of entering the pyramid, and he added that they had found numbers of objects in alabaster; it is clear that he referred to the beautiful vases inscribed with the names and titles of Pepi II., of which so many examples are known. The sarcophagus is of granite and is in a good state of preservation, for the thieves managed to thrust aside the cover, which now rests partly on the sarcophagus and partly on the two buttresses, which are built of unbaked bricks, and which were placed between the sarcophagus and the west wall in order to support the cover whilst the workmen were getting it into its final resting-place on the sarcophagus. The thieves seem to have made away with the king's mummy entirely, for no trace of it whatsoever was found; scattered about the sarcophagus chamber were some fragments of linen bandages, a fact which seems to show that the mummy was broken to pieces in the tomb by the thieves in their frantic search for treasure. The hieroglyphics of the

[1] *Recueil*, tom. xii. p. 54.

inscriptions are very much smaller than those in the texts of Unás, and notwithstanding all the lost paragraphs which were destroyed when the thieves broke the walls to pieces in their search for gold, the total amount of text still preserved to us in the pyramid of Pepi II. is equal to all that found in the other four pyramids of the class.[1]

We have already mentioned the three expeditions to the Eastern Sûdân, which were undertaken by Ḥer-khuf for Mer-en-Rā, the elder brother of Pepi II., and which were successfully carried out during that king's reign, and we must now mention the services which this distinguished man performed for Pepi II., his new master. In addition to the inscription in his tomb which supplies the account of three expeditions given above (see p. 112), the walls are inscribed with the copy of a letter which was sent him by Pepi II., dated on the 16th day of the third month of the inundation of the second year of the king's reign; that it is a copy of a letter actually received by Ḥer-khuf there is no reason to doubt, and as it was copied on the walls of his tomb it is only reasonable to assume that the contents of the royal despatch are faithfully reproduced there. After the address the king states that he knows the contents of Ḥer-khuf's letter, informing him that he had entered the country of Ȧmam with his soldiers in peace, and that he had brought back to Egypt all the good things which Hathor,

[1] *Recueil*, tom. xii. p. 56.

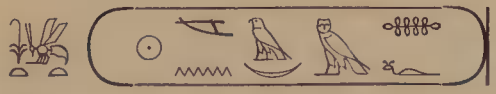
the lady of Ȧmmaau, , had given to the double (ka) of the ever-living king Neferka-Rā, i.e., Pepi II. The king then refers to Ḥer-khuf's letter to him in which he reported that he had brought back a "Ṭenḳ (i.e., pygmy) of the dancers of the god from the Land of the Spirits, 



, like unto the Ṭenḳ which the divine chancellor Ba-ur-Ṭeṭṭu brought back from Punt in the time of Ȧssȧ," and which Ḥer-khuf declared to be the only one of the kind ever brought back by any visitor to Ȧmam. Pepi next mentions the watchful devotion which Ḥer-khuf shows on behalf of the king's interests, and he promises him that, in return for this loyal service, he will bestow upon his son's son such exceedingly great honours that all the people who shall hear of them will exclaim, "The like hath never before been done to that which "hath been done for the 'smer uāt' Ḥer-khuf when he "went to the country of Ȧmam, and he watched that he "might do what [the king] wished, and approved and "commanded." Following this comes the royal command that Ḥer-khuf should set out forthwith for the palace by boat, and that he should bring with him the pygmy which he had brought out of the Land of the Spirits, sound and whole, that he might gladden and make happy the heart of the king, who is curiously eager to see the rare being. And Ḥer-khuf is ordered by his

sovereign to provide proper people, , to prevent the pygmy from falling into the water on the way down the river, and proper people are to watch behind the place where he sleeps, and to look into it ten times during the course of each night that they may be sure that all is well with him, for, says the king, "My "Majesty wisheth to see this pygmy more than all tribute "of Bata and Punt. And if thou comest to court having "this pygmy with thee, sound and whole, my Majesty "will do for thee more than was done for the divine "chancellor Ba-ur-Ṭeṭṭu in the time of Àssà, and con- "formably to the greatness of the desire of the heart of "my Majesty to see this pygmy." The last paragraph of the inscription seems to refer to an order given by the king to every priest, or superintendent of a temple, on the way between Aswân and Memphis to supply Ḥer-khuf and his party with whatsoever they had need of for their journey. It is much to be hoped that other inscriptions of the kind may be forthcoming, for then it would probably be possible to say how far in the Barûda Desert and beyond Kharṭûm the early Egyptian travellers like Ba-ur-Ṭeṭṭu, Unà, and Ḥer-khuf penetrated. We shall probably be wrong if we assume that these distinguished men were the first to make their way into the Sûdân for trading purposes, for the ebony and ivory tablets which have been found in the tombs of the kings of the Ist Dynasty, and of their immediate predecessors, prove that commercial relations between the Sûdân and Egypt must have existed from time immemorial. In

the earliest times the route followed would be, no doubt, that of the desert on the west bank of the Nile, for the great bend of the river between Wâdî Ḥalfa and Abu Ḥammad, to say nothing of the difficulty of passing the Second, Third, and Fourth Cataracts, except at the period of the Inundation when the Nile was highest, would make the shorter desert route to be preferred. From Dar-Fûr and the neighbourhood the old road ran on the west bank almost directly to the Oases in the Western Desert, and until the last few years it was the one chosen by the heads of caravans in preference to that by way of the river.

6.  RĀ-MER-EN-MEḤT-EM-SA-F.

Pepi II. was succeeded, according to Manetho, by a king called Menthesuphis, who reigned only one year; this king is, no doubt, to be identified with the king whose names, as king of the South and North and as son of the Sun, are enclosed within the above cartouche, which is supplied by the Tablet of Abydos. Up to the present no inscriptions of this king have been found, and there is no mention of him in any known text.

7.  RĀ-NETER-KA.

This name follows that of Menthesuphis II. in the Tablet of Abydos, but is wanting both in the Tablet of

Ṣaḳḳâra and in the King List of Manetho; no inscriptions of this king are known, and there is no mention of him in any text hitherto discovered. There are numerous indications in the monuments which belong to the end of the VIth Dynasty that the central Government at Memphis was growing gradually weaker and weaker, and that the kings of the period possessed far less power throughout the country than formerly. The maṣṭabas and other tombs are less well built, the reliefs are coarser and more carelessly executed, and the fine *motif*, exhibited in the scenes and reliefs of the IVth Dynasty, is entirely wanting.

8.  Rā-men-ka, son of the Sun, Netàqerti, *Νίτωκρις*.

The prenomen of this king, i.e., the name by which he was known as king of the South and North, Rā-men-ka, or Men-ka-Rā, is supplied by the Tablet of Abydos, where it follows that of Rā-neter-ka; the name Netàqerti is supplied by the Royal Papyrus of Turin, on a fragment of which it was first identified by de Rougé. According to Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 106), the last monarch of the VIth Dynasty was a woman who was at once the "bravest and most beautiful"[1] of her time; her complexion was "red and

[1] *γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη.*

white,"[1] and traditions of her great beauty have been preserved in various forms by different writers. According to Herodotus (ii. 100), among the 330 other kings whom the priests enumerated from a book there were eighteen Ethiopians and one woman, and the name of this woman who reigned was the same as that of the Babylonian queen Nitocris. They said that she avenged her brother whom the Egyptians had slain while reigning over them; and after they had slain him, they then delivered the kingdom to her; and she, to avenge him, destroyed many of the Egyptians by stratagem; and, having caused an extensive apartment to be made underground, she pretended that she was going to consecrate it, but in reality had another design in view. For, having invited those of the Egyptians whom she knew to have been principally concerned in the murder, she gave a great banquet, and when they were feasting, she let in the river upon them, through a large, concealed channel. This is all they related of her, except that, when she had done this, she threw herself into a room full of hot ashes in order that by killing herself she might escape punishment. It need hardly be said that the legend related by Herodotus is not supported by the evidence of the inscriptions.

According to Manetho, she built the Third Pyramid, i.e., the Pyramid of Men-kau-Rā, the Mycerinus of the Greeks, and reigned twelve years, and there is little

[1] According to another version ξανθή τε τὴν χρόαν ὑπάρξασα, "fair skinned with rosy cheeks."

doubt that this writer was repeating a tradition which was current at the time when he wrote. The similarity between the queen's prenomen Men-ka-Rā and that of her great predecessor, Men-kau-Rā, the actual builder of the Third Pyramid, may have given rise to some confusion, though it hardly seems likely, and the investigations made in the Pyramids of Gîzeh by Perring show that for Manetho's statement some historical evidence exists. In the course of his work Perring found that the Pyramid of Mycerinus had been enlarged, and he thought that the granite covering of the outside had been placed on it during the reign of Nitocris, and at her expense. In the ante-chamber he found fragments of what must have been a magnificent sarcophagus made of fine-grained blue basalt, and herein the body of the queen rested.[1]

Some of the Greek travellers in Egypt in ancient times associated with the name of Nitocris that of Rhodopis, the courtesan, to whom we have already referred (see p. 58); according to M. Piehl, the name Rhodopis, i.e., the "Red-faced," was first given to the Sphinx at Gîzeh, the face of which, as everyone knows, was originally painted red, and it seems that Nitocris was called the "Red-faced," and the evil spirit with the red face which lived in the Sphinx became identified with the Rhodopis whose

[1] This view was accepted by de Rougé, Bunsen, Lepsius, and others.

body was interred in the Third Pyramid.[1] The Greeks having identified Nitocris with Rhodopis, the well-known Lesbian courtesan who lived in Egypt in the time of Apries, the character which Rhodopis had acquired was attributed to Nitocris by them, and by their successors also, and a distant echo of this reaches us in a story from Murtadi, which is quoted both by Wiedemann and Maspero. According to this writer the pyramids and temples of the ancient Egyptians were inhabited by spirits, and presumably by the spirits of those who were buried in them, or of those who built them. He goes on to say that the spirit of the southern pyramid never appears outside of it, except in the form of a beautiful woman who is absolutely naked, and that when she wishes to bestow her favours upon anyone, and to make him lose his senses, she smiles at him, whereupon he approaches her straightway, and she draws him to her and makes him so infatuated with love, that he loses his senses immediately, and wanders round about the country. Many persons have observed her wandering about the pyramid at noon, and about the time of sunset.[2] The "southern pyramid" is, no doubt, the pyramid of Mycerinus, and the beautiful woman[3] clearly is Rhodopis-Nitocris. The

[1] Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. xi. pp. 221–223.

[2] Vattier, P., *L'Egypte de Murtadi, fils du Gaphiphe, ou il est traité des Pyramides*, etc., Paris, 1666, pp. 64, 65.

[3] "forme d'une femme nuë, dont les parties honteuses mesme sont descouvertes, belle au reste."

fact that a sovereign called Netâqert reigned over Egypt at the end of the VIth Dynasty is beyond doubt, but some Egyptologists have asserted that this sovereign was a man; there is, however, nothing to surprise us in Manetho's statement that Netâqert was a woman, for the social position held by women in Egypt was very high, and we know that already in the time of the IInd Dynasty it was decreed that women were eligible for the highest offices of the state. But whether Netâqert was a man or a woman matters little historically.

It is not difficult to gather from the absence of contemporaneous monuments that the rule of the central government at Memphis must have been very weak, and it cannot even be said from them if Netâqert was the last sovereign of her dynasty or not. The probability is that she was not, and it is tolerably certain that none of her successors, who were the descendants of the pyramid-builders of the VIth Dynasty, was able to make his rule effective. During their feeble reigns no work was carried on in the great quarries of Egypt, or in the turquoise mines of the Peninsula of Sinai, for their names are not mentioned on the rocks at Elephantine, Ḥet-nub, Ḥammâmât, Ṭura, or the Wâdî Maghâra. What happened in those times must have been similar to that which always took place in Egypt whenever the strong hand of a vigorous king was wanting. The hereditary princes in the various parts of the country asserted their

independence, small local chiefs began to quarrel with each other and to usurp each other's possessions, and the common people flocked naturally to the standard of the man who was most powerful or most successful in making good his claims, just or unjust. Meanwhile the worship of the gods was neglected, and their shrines became impoverished, and every man literally did what was right in his own eyes. The trades and the arts declined because no man could afford to build maṣṭaba tombs, or pyramids, or sepulchral edifices of any kind, and the condition of Egypt at the end of the VIth Dynasty must have been that of certain provinces in the East at the present day.

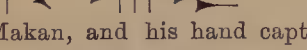
CHAPTER V.

THE FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH DYNASTIES.—SUMMARY.

From what has been said in the account of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties it is clear that we are dealing with a period of comparatively rapid development of Egyptian civilization which was followed by an almost equally rapid period of decline. In the period of the first three dynasties the rule of the Egyptian king appears to have been limited to a tract of country which extended from Silsilis or Hermonthis in the south to Buto in the north; but by the end of the VIth Dynasty we find the Egyptian frontiers pushed forward to Elephantine in the south, and to the Mediterranean on the north. The tribes of the Delta swamps, which are referred to in the texts of the time of the Vth and VIth Dynasties and onwards under the name of "Ḥaâu" and "Ḥau nebu,"[1] , or

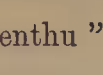
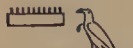
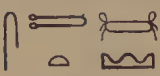
[1] These tribes have been discussed by W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 24, and by H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 157 ff., who shows that, although in later times the Egyptians included the Greeks in the term Ḥaâu-nebu, under the Early Empire this name meant the dwellers in the swamps and fens of the Delta, and nothing more.

, tribes which were certainly not Egyptian and which were always regarded by the Egyptians as being outside the pale of the Egyptian religion, were brought into subjection to the Egyptian rule. We have already mentioned that the Egyptians had obtained a foothold in the Sinaitic Peninsula as early as the time of Tcheser, a king of the IIIrd Dynasty; under the IVth Dynasty the portion of the Peninsula wherein were situated the copper mines was systematically occupied by the Egyptians, and the copper mines were worked by Egyptian labour and defended by Egyptian soldiers. About this period the Peninsula must also have been visited by expeditions from Babylonia, under the leadership of the kings Sargon of Agade and his son Naram-Sin, which are mentioned in the Omen texts written in the Assyrian cuneiform character. The object of such expeditions was to obtain stone for building purposes, which was so rare in Babylonia, and it is probable that Egypt itself was visited by these kings, for the native tradition which was reproduced in the Omen texts asserted that Naram-Sin went to Makan,[1] a country which can only be identified satisfactorily with Sinai, and conquered it and its king.[2] We

[1] "Naram-Sin went to the land of Makan , he took the land of Makan, and his hand captured the king of Makan." See *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. iv. plate 34, K. 2130, Rev. ll. 15 ff.

[2] See De Sarzec, *Découvertes*, plate 16, col. vii. ll. 10 ff.; and plate 17, col. vi. ll. 26 ff., 38 ff.

may note here in passing that Gudea, a Babylonian king who reigned about B.C. 2500, i.e., more than one thousand years after Sargon and Naram-Sin, tells us in a contemporary inscription that he brought stone for his statues from Makan, and gold dust and *ushû* wood from Melukhkha; Makan and Melukhkha must then represent Sinai and Egypt, identifications which are confirmed by the inscriptions of Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, in which Egypt is referred to under the name of Melukhkha.

The native tribes of Sinai and the adjacent country were known to the Egyptians at this time by the names of "Menthu" and "Menti," , , which, in later days, are spelt , and , and "Anu" ; the former of these names means "diggers," or "cave-makers," i.e., Troglodytes, and the latter "rock-dwellers." The Menti are also called the "Menti of Sathet" , i.e., "the Menti of Asia";[1] the name Sathet is derived from  *Saththi*, i.e., an Asiatic, literally a "shooter" or "hunter." Other

[1] The name Sathet which occurs in the pyramid text of Pepi (l. 90) must refer to Asia, and not to the region of the cataract; this is proved by the ivory plaque in Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, plate 17, No. 30, where the name  is given above the figure of an Asiatic prisoner.

tribes of the deserts to the east of Egypt, which were probably raided by the Egyptians yearly, were known by the name "Ḥeru-shā," i.e., the "dwellers on the sand," , who are also known as "Āamu-Ḥeru-shā," , i.e., "barbarian dwellers on the sand," the name "Āamu" signifying "eastern barbarians"; another name for the same group of tribes is "Petchti-shu," , i.e., "Bowmen of the desert."[1] The Libyan tribes which dwelt in the deserts to the west of Egypt were known in the earliest times by the name "Theḥennu," , the name "Libu" not occurring until a much later period. The negroes and the negroid tribes of the Sûdân were known by the general name of "Neḥes," , and they appear to have occupied the Nile Valley as far north as Elephantine. Under the kings of the VIth Dynasty their countries of Āām, Uauat, Årerthet, etc., were more or less in subjection to Egypt, for in the wars which Pepi I. waged against the Ḥeru-shā his general Unȧ brought negro troops from Årerthet, Metchā, Āām, Uauat, and Kaau, to assist the Egyptians. In the reign of Mer-en-Rā, and of Pepi II., the high official Ḥer-khuf was sent to the countries of Sethu, and Årerthet, and Āām three times; on the occasion of his third visit he went to the

[1] See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 16.

last named country by way of the Great Oasis, and found the prince of Āām at war with Themeḥ or Theḥennu, i.e., the Libyans. He presented to the prince of Āām the gifts which the king of Egypt had sent to him, and brought back to Egypt a number of the people of Āām, three hundred asses laden with ivory, ebony, incense, panther skins, boomerangs, etc. Ḥer-khuf in his narrative adds that "when the king "of Ȧrerthet, Sethu, and Uauat saw the troop of the "people of Āām that was coming to the palace with me "and my soldiers who had been sent with me, this chief "wondered, and gave me oxen and goats." In connection with the negroes the land of Punt must be mentioned, although the peculiar relations of this country with Egypt and its identity have been already discussed.[1]

[1] See above, Vol. I., p. 46 f. In recent years it has been positively asserted that Mashonaland is the land of Punt, whence the Egyptians obtained gold, and that it is also the Ophir, whence Solomon obtained gold. The most serious attempt to prove these statements made in recent years is given by the Hon. A. Wilmot in his *Monomotapa* (*Rhodesia*), London, 1896. The author, who writes quite in good faith, was commissioned by the Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes to write the history of Monomotapa, and he spent a great deal of time in visiting Rome, Lisbon, and London in search of documentary evidence in support of his settled conviction that Monomotapa is the "Ophir of King Solomon," and, of course, he found it. Mr. Wilmot begins by assuming that Mr. Bent proved that the ruins at Zimbabwe were those of buildings erected by the Phoenicians, but Mr. Bent "proved" nothing of the kind, as several competent archaeologists told him. Mr. Wilmot then sketches out a history of Phoenicia, and finally concludes, "It is "certainly a startling fact, illustrating the truth of the aphorism "that there is 'nothing new under the sun' when we find what

Under the VIth Dynasty regular communication with Punt seems to have been maintained overland by way of the Upper Nile Valley and the adjacent countries of the Negroes, for both Ba-ur-Ṭeṭṭu, an officer of King

"was very probably the mines of Ophir one thousand years before "Christ becomes the most recent 'diggings' of the British South "Africa Company, in the reign of Queen Victoria" (p. 118). Statements of this kind may suit a mining company's prospectus very well, but when set out as archaeological facts they can only be described as incorrect and misleading. In *The Times* of October 23rd, 1901, appeared the following letter from Mr. Carl Peters on "Ophir and Punt":—

SIR,—Since writing to you in August on the subject of my researches regarding the Punt question I have received, through the kindness of Mr. Fairbridge in Umtali, tracings of three newly-discovered Bushmen paintings in Eastern Mashonaland. These paintings, which I shall be pleased to show to any scholar interested in these matters, show distinctly the influence of Egyptian art. The head-dresses in one of them are absolutely identical with paintings on Egyptian hieroglyphic representations. I see from the researches of the late Ed. Glaser on the Punt question that he, without knowing my discoveries of this year, was, already in 1899, of opinion that Mashonaland was a part of the ancient Egyptian country "Poen-at" or "Punt." Glaser brings forward as evidence for his theory the name Ras-Hafûn ("Ha" being mahritic prefix; "Fûn" being identical with "Phoun" or "Punt"). I beg to add to this philological evidence that the repeated appearance of the name "Pun-gwe" in East and South Africa (for instance, the Pungwe river, coming from Manicaland and with its mouth at Beira) leads us to the same conclusion. I, therefore, think that even Professor Keane will now be convinced that there is some conclusive evidence for the theory that the ancient Egyptians got their Punt gold from South Africa. The representation of the Punt expedition under the Queen Hat-Shepsut (XVIIIth Dynasty, B.C. 1516—1481) in the temple of Deir-el-Bahri proves that the ancient Egyptian ships were stronger than the modern Arabic dhows, and, therefore, absolutely fit to cross the

Assâ, and Ḥer-khuf,[1] in the time of Pepi II., made expeditions thither; and it is clear that the land of the Negroes on the south was bounded by the land of the pygmies, specimens of whom were taken from time to time to Pharaoh's court at Memphis.

The general advance in civilization in the period of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties is marked by considerable progress in the use of metals; the Egyptians

Indian Ocean. That Punt was an African and not an Asiatic district is proved by the single fact that giraffes are among the articles of the return freight. It is proved, therefore, by philological evidence that this country Punt reached further south than Cape Guardafui, and by zoological evidence that it was an African district. Now we find in South Africa, between the Zambesi and Sabi, the grand relics of ancient gold-mining. Copper is mentioned as one of the products of the Punt expeditions. I have discovered a chain of ancient copper workings along the Sabi river this year. Can any scholar who, like Professor Flinders Petrie, locates Punt in Somaliland, bring forward any similar evidence? Therefore I am of opinion that I can now prove that the ancient Egyptians as well as the Jews of King Solomon's period got their gold mainly from South Africa, that Punt and Afur (Hebrew, Ophir) are the same country—East Africa from Cape Guardafui down to the mouth of the Sabi. South Africa, therefore, was the Eldorado of the most ancient nations of history.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CARL PETERS.

The whole question of the position of Punt has been fully discussed by MM. Maspero and Naville, whose works on the subject have been already mentioned, but it is important to state that no evidence exists which would place Punt further south than the Elephant river on the East coast of Africa, and that all the Egyptological evidence at present available contradicts Mr. Peters' assertion that the Egyptians "got their gold mainly from South Africa."

[1] Her-khuf describes Punt as the "land of the spirits or ghosts."

of the first three dynasties used copper and flint indiscriminately, but the Egyptians of the IVth Dynasty employed chiefly tools made of bronze. Flint was still used largely in making teeth for sickles, knives, etc., and it is not until nearly the end of the Middle Empire, about B.C. 2000, is reached that its use was confined to the making of knives, etc., employed for ceremonial purposes. But it would be wrong to assert that at this period the Egyptians were living in the "Bronze Age" of their country, for iron was certainly known to and used by them in the centuries which we are discussing, i.e., from about B.C. 3800 to 3000. Iron objects of the Ancient Empire are exceedingly rare, it is true, but the word for iron is met with in the Pyramid Texts of Unàs, and paintings of the time of the Ancient Empire are known in which weapons, tools, etc., are painted blue or black, i.e., the colour by which iron is indicated. In face



Statue of an Egyptian official.
IVth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 24,714.

of these facts it is hazardous to declare, as has been done, that iron was not known to the Egyptians before B.C. 1000.[1] In the most primitive graves of the "New Race" period we find flint implements only in use, and Egypt was then in its Neolithic Age; at the end of the predynastic period we find that copper has been introduced, and we may fairly assume that the knowledge of this metal and the working of it were brought into Egypt by the people who are generally known as the "Followers of Horus." The art of making bronze was introduced into Egypt very soon after, but whether it was brought from Babylonia or not cannot at present be decided; it is, however, certain that the Egyptians of the VIth Dynasty were very skilful in manipulating the metal, a fact which is proved by the large bronze statue of Pepi I., the remains of which were found by Mr. Quibell at Hierakonpolis. Iron was certainly known to the Egyptians as early as the Vth Dynasty, and from the fact that iron plays a great part in ancient Egyptian myths, it is probable that it was known by them at a far earlier period. Thus the firmament of heaven is described as a rectangular iron plate, each corner of which was supported by a pillar, and the throne of the supreme god is made of iron ornamented with the faces of lions and with feet in the

[1] The whole subject has been exhaustively discussed by Prof. Piehl in *Ymer*, Stockholm, 1888, p. 94 ff. (*Bronsålder i Egypten?*), and the gist of his arguments will be found in H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 198, note 2.

form of the hoofs of bulls.[1] It is perhaps hardly necessary to state that "bȧa," , can mean nothing else but "iron," for the form "bȧa en-pet" i.e.,



The Egyptian official Ka-Tep and his wife Ḥetepet-hers. IVth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 1181.

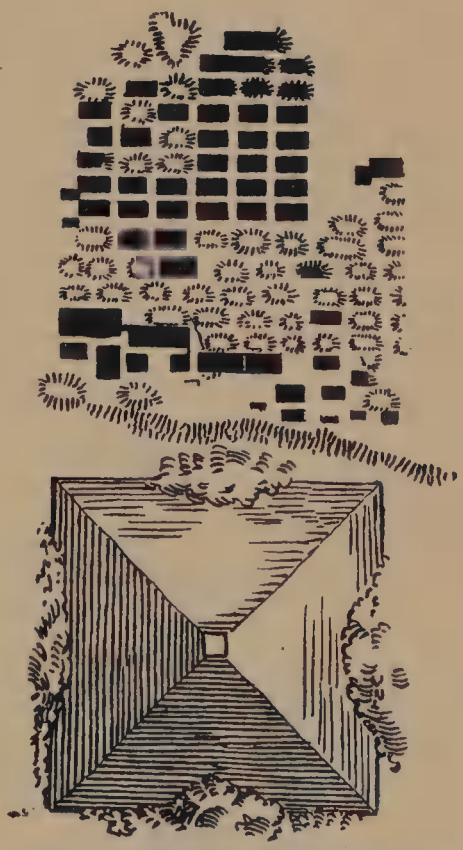
"*bȧa* of heaven," is the original of the Coptic *benipe*, "iron"; "bȧa en-pet," then, means meteoric iron.

The remains of the buildings which can be certainly

[1] See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. vii. p. 154 (ll. 309, 310).

assigned to the period of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties prove that the Egyptians had already acquired most remarkable skill in architecture, for no buildings which can rival the pyramids of Gîzeh have ever been erected. These mighty works, which were constructed in the dawn of civilization, seem destined to outlast the greatest efforts of modern architects and engineers, for history shows that already they have withstood the attacks of the elements, of time, and of man for a period of six thousand years. The account given by Herodotus of the means by which they were erected is probably correct, for mechanical appliances for raising the stones, though of an elementary kind, must have been used; in addition to these the only requisites for the erecting of monuments of this kind were the use of an inclined plane of sand, and unlimited supplies of labour and material. The conception of the Great Pyramid is a masterpiece of the human mind, and the skill with which the architect's plan was carried out by the builders is no way unworthy of the grandeur of the design. The kings who built these pyramids intended them to be their tombs; they are nothing but tombs, and were designed for no more mysterious purpose; but the effect which they have produced upon the mind of man in all ages has been so great that they, above all other Egyptian monuments, have been made the subjects of ignorant and superstitious beliefs which have been often paraded before the world in a pseudo-scientific garb.

Less massive and less elaborate sepulchres sufficed for the needs of the royal noblemen and officials, and "houses of eternity" which were constructed for them took the form called "maṣṭaba,"[1] from the fact that a building of the kind, when half buried in sand, closely resembled the long, low seat, or bench, which is so common in Oriental houses. The maṣṭaba is a heavy, massive building, of rectangular shape, the four sides of which are four walls symmetrically inclined towards their common centre. The exterior surfaces are not flat, for the face of each course of masonry, formed of stones laid vertically, is a little behind the one beneath it, and if these recesses were a little deeper, the external appearance of each side of the building would resemble a flight



The Great Pyramid with the maṣṭaba tombs of officials and others arranged in rows behind it.

[1] From the Arabic مَصْطَبَة "bench."

of steps. The stones which form the building are of a moderate size, and, with the exception of those used for the ceiling and architrave, have an average height of 18 or 20 inches. The width and length of the maṣṭaba vary; the largest is about 170 feet long by 86 feet wide, and the smallest 26 feet long by 20 feet wide; they vary in height from 13 to 30 feet. The best examples of the maṣṭaba are found at Ṣaḳḳâra, and round about the Great Pyramid, where they are arranged symmetrically, the plan of their arrangement resembling the squares on a chess board; we have seen that in the earliest times the king's priestly, military and civil officials, as well as private noblemen, were buried in small side chambers of the royal tomb, but under the IIIrd and following Dynasties we find that the royal tomb forms the centre of a regular necropolis. The maṣṭaba was built of stone or brick, and consisted of three parts: the chamber for offerings; the serdâb, or partially closed niche in the chamber for offerings wherein the statue of the deceased was placed; and the pit which was excavated in the solid rock, and down which the deceased in his coffin was lowered to the subterranean mummy-chamber into which the pit opened. The interior walls of the chamber for offerings were ornamented with scenes, either painted or sculptured, which are chiefly biographical, and which represent the daily occupation of the deceased, his amusements, and the routine work of the artisans and labourers who were maintained by him upon his estates. The texts which

accompany such scenes usually record the name and titles of the deceased at great length, and sometimes explain in a few simple words the meaning of the pictures; religious texts are, in the case of private persons, usually confined to the prayers to Osiris, Ap-uat, Anubis, etc., for the granting of a happy burial after a good old age, and a regular supply of funeral offerings to their tombs. These are usually cut in bold hieroglyphics over the entrances, and in other prominent places in the tombs.



The Shêkh el-Balad.
(From a cast in the British Museum.)

The statues which have been mentioned in connection with the serdâb have already in the IVth and Vth Dynasties reached the culminating point of Egyptian art, and in later dynasties no sculptor ever produced any statue which could in any way rival such works of his predecessors as the famous

"Shêkh al-Balad" in the Museum at Cairo, the "Scribe" of the Museum of the Louvre, and the statue of Ân-kheft-ka in the British Museum. The sculptor of the IVth Dynasty endeavoured to reproduce the faces and figures of his sitters in fac-simile, and it is quite certain that he succeeded. The finest bas-reliefs and statues found in the maṣṭabas belong to the end of the IVth and the beginning of the Vth Dynasty; at the end of the Vth Dynasty both design and workmanship are less good, and by the end of the VIth Dynasty the whole character of funeral buildings, and of the reliefs and paintings employed to ornament them, has undergone a decided change for the worse, a change which foreshadows the state of temporary degeneration into which Egyptian art fell during the period which elapsed between the Early and Middle Empires. The



Statue of Ân-kheft-ka.
IVth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 1239.

chambers of the royal pyramids of the IVth Dynasty were neither inscribed with texts nor ornamented and painted with reliefs, but at the end of the Vth Dynasty it became the custom to ornament the walls of the corridors and chambers of the king's tomb with selections from a long series of spells, incantations, and prayers, which were designed to ensure the safe



Egyptian model of an ancient Egyptian house. IVth to VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 32,613.

arrival of the deceased king in the realm of Osiris, the god and judge of the dead, and his reception as a powerful god by the gods, and by the spirits and souls of the righteous who were living in Amenti. These collections of magical texts are known generally as the "Pyramid Texts," and they represent the earliest form of the Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, which is

called "Heliopolitan." A perusal of these texts, however, shows that they were probably based on very early documents, no copies of which have come down to us; the Heliopolitan character of the texts is, of course, due to the influence of the priesthood of Heliopolis (Ânnu, or On), which, during the period of the Vth Dynasty, had become dominant in the religious colleges of Egypt. The selections of magical and religious texts which are found in the pyramids of the Vth and VIth Dynasties constitute the whole of the religious literature of the best period of the Early Empire; towards the end of this period texts of this kind were divided into sections and classified, and their editors seem to have begun to arrange them in the form which is familiar to us from later Recensions of the *Book of the Dead*. As an example may be mentioned the texts on the sarcophagus of Beb, which was found at Denderah,[1] and which is now in the Museum at Cairo; here we have a selection of texts, many of which have titles and are identical with Chapters found in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*.

The inscriptions and remains which belong to the whole period of the Egyptian Empire show that the gods and goddesses of Egypt were the same substantially in the earliest as in the latest days of its history, with the exception of the Theban triad of Âmen, Mut, and Khonsu, who, from occupying a very subordinate

[1] See Petrie, *Denderah*, plate 37.

position among the lesser gods in the period of the Vth Dynasty, rose, with the rising fortunes of the kings of Thebes, until they practically usurped the position of the principal gods of ancient Egypt. None of the original temples of the period in which these gods were worshipped have come down to us, for they were all rebuilt under the XIIth and following dynasties; we



Egyptian model of an ancient Egyptian house. IVth to VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 32,610.

know, however, from isolated monuments which have been preserved in the existing temples that the greater number of them were founded at least as far back as the IVth Dynasty. Of a few temples, e.g., that of Hierakonpolis, it can be definitely stated that they were founded in the remote period of the Ist Dynasty. Sir Norman Lockyer has argued, and has produced

strong evidence based on astronomical data in support of his argument, that the oldest temples in Egypt were built upon sites which had been occupied by religious edifices from the remotest antiquity, and the general trend of the archaeological evidence which is now forthcoming entirely supports this view, in the writer's opinion.

We have already described the archaic character of hieroglyphic writing under the first three dynasties. In the period of the IVth Dynasty, although a few archaic signs are still retained, the writing, as a whole, had adopted its final hieroglyphic form, and had so far developed that in the time of Åssá, a king of the Vth Dynasty, a cursive form of it, which is now commonly known as "hieratic," had already come into use. The use of the reed pen and ink was known in the time of the Ist Dynasty, when flakes of stone and plaques of ivory, etc., formed the materials chiefly used for writing upon; at a later period, which cannot, however, be clearly indicated, the Egyptians discovered how to prepare the layers of the stem of the papyrus plant for writing upon. The oldest known example of a papyrus written upon with ink is said to be the papyrus of accounts in which the name of Åssá is mentioned; it is written in hieratic, and portions of it are now preserved in the Museum at Cairo. Of the literature of the period the best known examples are the "Precepts of Ptaḥ-ḥetep," and the "Precepts of Kaḳemna," which contain a remarkable collection of counsels, proverbs,

and aphorisms of a religious and moral character, and which illustrate the high morality the attainment of which was the ideal of every cultured Egyptian of the period. Now Ptaḥ-ḥetep was, we know, a contemporary of Åssâ, a king of the Vth Dynasty, and Kaḳemna lived in the time of the VIth Dynasty, but we have no contemporary copies of their works; the oldest versions



Egyptian model of an ancient Egyptian house. IVth to VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 32,612.

known to us are contained in the famous Prisse Papyrus,[1] and cannot be older than the time of the XIIth Dynasty. That the form of the Precepts in which we now have them is substantially that in

[1] For the text see Prisse d'Avennes, *Fac-similé d'un Papyrus Égyptien*, Paris, 1847.

which they left their authors' hands there is little reason to doubt; their character is best illustrated by giving a few specimens of them:[1]—Ptaḥ-ḥetep saith, "(1) O god of the two crocodiles (i.e., Osiris), my lord, "mature age turneth into old age, infirmity cometh "upon man, and failing powers take the place of "vigorous youth. Some [additional] failing cometh "upon him each day, the eyes become dim and lose their "power, the ears become stopped, and decline in strength "advanceth upon him always. The mouth is silent, "speech faileth, the memory faileth, and he remembereth "not even [the matter of] yesterday. He hath pain in "all his body: that which was once pleasant to him is "now repulsive, for his palate hath lost the sense of "taste. Old age bringeth miseries of every kind upon "man; his nostrils become stopped, and by reason of his "failing strength he can hardly draw his breath." Ptaḥ-ḥetep saith to his son, "(2) Be not puffed up because "of the knowledge which thou hast acquired, and hold "converse with the unlettered man as with the learned; "for there is no obstacle to knowledge, and no handi- "craftsman hath attained to the limit of the knowledge "of his art. (5) If thou art in command of a company "of men, deal with them after the best manner and in "such wise that thou thyself mayest not be reprehended. "Law (or, justice, or, right) is great, fixed and unchang-

[1] Renderings are given by Chabas in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1858 (Le plus ancien livre du monde, étude sur le Papyrus Prisse); and Virey, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse*, Paris, 1887.

"ing, and it hath not been moved since the time of Osiris. "(6) Terrify not men, or God will terrify thee. (7) If "thou art among a company of men and women in the "abode of a man who is greater than thyself, take what-"soever he giveth thee making obeisance gratefully. "Speak not oftener than he requireth, for one knoweth "not what may displease him; speak when he speaketh "to thee, and thy words shall be pleasing unto him. "(8) If thou art charged with a message from one noble-"man to another, deliver it exactly as thou hast received "it. (9) If thou art an husbandman, harvest the crop "of the field which the Great God hath given unto thee. "A man becometh a god when he is at the head of a "tribe which putteth its trust in him. (10) In doing "homage before a greater man than thyself thou art "doing what is most pleasing unto God. (11) Labour "diligently whilst thou hast life, and do even more than "thou hast been commanded to do: waste not thy "vigorous prime, for he who maketh a bad use of his "time is reprehensible. Neglect not to add to thy "possessions daily, for diligence increaseth wealth, but "without diligence riches disappear. (12) If thou art a "perfect (or, wise) man, bring up thy son in a manner "which is pleasing to God. (18) If thou wouldst be "held in esteem in the house wherein thou enterest, "whether it be that of a nobleman, or of a brother, or of "a friend, or any other abode in which thou goest, touch "not the women. It is not in any way a good thing [to "do], nay, 'tis a senseless act, for a thousand men have

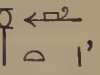
"destroyed themselves and gone to their deaths for the
"sake of the enjoyment of a pleasure which is as fleeting
"as the twinkling of an eye. (19) If thou wouldst
"behave well and be free from all evil, keep thy temper,
"for this is a vice which leadeth to strife, and an ill-
"tempered man cannot continue to live. It divideth
"fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and it
"maketh the husband and the wife to hate each other.
"(21) If thou wouldst be wise, rule thy house, and love
"thy wife wholly and constantly. Fill her stomach and
"clothe her body, for these are her personal necessities;
"love her tenderly and fulfil all her desires as long as
"thou hast thy life, for she is an estate which conferreth
"great reward upon her lord. Be not harsh to her, for
"she will be more easily moved by persuasion than by
"force; take thou heed to that which she wisheth, and
"to that to which her desire runneth, and to that upon
"which she fixeth her mind [and obtain it for her], for
"thereby shalt thou make her to stay in thy house. If
"thou resistest her will it is ruin [to thee] speak
"to her heart and show her thy love. (30) If thou hast
"become a great man having once been of no account,
"and if thou hast become rich having once been poor,
"and hast become the governor of the city, take heed
"that thou dost not act haughtily because thou hast
"attained unto this high position. Harden not thy
"heart because thou hast become exalted, for thou art
"only the guardian of the goods which God hath given
"unto thee. Set not in the background thy neighbour

"who is as thou wast, but make thyself as if he were "thine equal."

The "Precepts" of Ptaḥ-ḥetep seem to have been written when their author was an old man. In his younger days he was, undoubtedly, like his successor Kaḳemna, one of the principal nobles of Pharaoh's court. Ptaḥ-ḥetep held the dignities of "governor of the city," , and chief minister, , and from the fact that he calls himself "eldest royal son of his body," he was probably of royal descent; his other title, "erpā ḥā," , i.e., "hereditary prince," indicates that he was a prominent member of an important princely family. Kaḳemna, besides being *wazîr* and governor of the city, held the office of "judge," .



Hard stone figure of an official called Ḥāpi. VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 32,190.

The highest rank which a man could hold under the king was that of "erpā ḥā," which originally made known that the man who held it was the "head" of an independent clan or tribe, and that he had become so by hereditary right; but under the powerful kings of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties the "erpā ḥā" became merely the title of the highest order of nobles. The old feudal chief came to court from time to time and tendered his homage to the king, but the later nobles who held this rank came to court and stayed there, and were buried near the pyramids of their Pharaohs. During the period between the VIth and XIIth Dynasties, the "erpā ḥā" resumed his old powers, and certain of them assumed the rank and dignity of a king; thus Ȧntefȧ, who was "erpā ḥā" of Thebes, placed both his name and his title within a cartouche, and his successors, the Menthu-ḥetep kings of the XIth Dynasty, dropped their title "erpā ḥā," and proclaimed themselves kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. The next highest dignity was apparently that of "chancellor," , which was in existence as early as the time of the Ist Dynasty; after this came the "smer uāt," , a title which must mean something like "only friend," i.e., a confidential adviser of the king; another title which was often borne by the highest nobles and officials was "he who is set over the secrets," . A very ancient and

favourite title throughout all the early dynasties was "suten rekh," , i.e., "one known to the king"; it seems that at first this title implied kinship to the king, but subsequently it meant little more than an honourable distinction. The above-mentioned titles are those of most frequent occurrence, but in addition there were in common use a considerable number of legal, military, priestly, and civil titles, for the enumeration of which there is no space here.



Anpu, an official. VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 32,187.

The pomp and dignity which surrounded the court of the king of Egypt greatly increased during the period of the IVth and Vth Dynasties. As early as the beginning of the IVth Dynasty he assumed the title of "the golden Horus," or "the Horus of gold," ; and Àssà seems to have been the first

king to call himself "son of the Sun," ; under the VIth Dynasty the king was already held to be a semi-divine being, and it is clear that his rank and position were as exalted at that time as were those of the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty at a later period. The king having during his lifetime arrogated to himself the attributes of a god, it was only natural that worship should be paid to him after death; hence as early as the IIIrd Dynasty we find that certain priestly officials were set apart to perform the rites which were due to the memory of deceased kings, e.g., Sherâ [1] at that time performed commemorative services in honour of Senṭ, a king of the IInd Dynasty.

Such priests were maintained out of the revenues with which the kings who built pyramids for themselves had endowed their funeral chapels, and out of the offerings which were made in them by the relatives of the dead and by devout folk. To the service of each of the larger pyramids several priests were attached, and there is evidence which shows that, in the case of many of the more important kings, their chapels were maintained, and services were regularly performed in them through all periods of Egyptian history until we reach the time of the Ptolemies. We must not, however, forget that the nobles of the king, and even the commonest person, became divine after

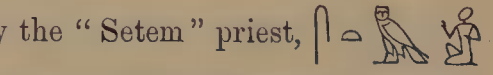
[1] Parts of his tomb are preserved in the Museum of Cairo, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and in the British Museum.

death, but as when he was upon earth the king was king of men, so in the world beyond the grave he was still king, only there his subjects had acquired a divine nature similar to his own; the king became Osiris, but so also did the meanest of his subjects. But the ordinary man was naturally unable to guarantee the perpetuity of the funeral services which he wished to have held in *his* chapel, for, whereas the king's priests were court officials, appointed in succession to carry on the tradition of his worship, the priest of the ordinary man, i.e., the "ḥen ka," , "the servant of the double," could only be that man's direct descendant, and when his family died out the services at his tomb necessarily came to an



The high-priest Ân-senf, and the lady Mersebes, [hieroglyphs]. VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 13,320.

end, even if they had not ceased long before. The office of the "ḥen ka" is one of the oldest connected with the Egyptian religion, being the outcome of one of its fundamental dogmas.

An examination of the tombs and funeral monuments of the Egyptians of the Ancient Empire shows that the old systems of burying the dead in contracted positions, or in mutilated condition, which were in use among the primitive inhabitants of the Nile Valley, and which we have already described, continued in vogue, though no doubt chiefly among the lower orders of society, until well on in the IVth Dynasty. After this period, the custom of burying the body at full length and lying upon its back, which had apparently been introduced by the "Followers of Horus," became universal, and from this time onwards the art of mummifying the human body becomes more and more highly developed, and ceremonies connected with the depositing of the body in the tomb are seen to be more and more elaborate. The Pyramid Texts prove that in the case of kings the funeral ceremonies were long and elaborate, and that many of them were of a highly symbolic character; incense of several kinds was burnt, libations of wines and other liquids were poured out, sacrifices were offered, and suitable prayers and words of power were recited alternately by the "Setem" priest,  (later "Sem"), and by the "Kher-ḥeb" priest. In the case of persons of lesser rank the ceremonies were

probably shorter, and as time went on they were reduced to very simple forms.



Figure of an official in hard stone. VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 32,188.

An examination of the monuments and other remains of the period of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties enables us to obtain a glimpse of the social condition of the country at that time. The king appears to have been regarded as an autocrat with a semi-divine nature, and his will was performed by a number of high officials, some of whom were his kinsmen, and all of whom regarded him as the fountain of honour, and the bestower of ranks, dignities, and positions. Many of the nobles who held various offices at court were not mere officials, but chiefs of great power and importance in their own nomes, and were in fact the ancestors of the great feudal princes with whom we become acquainted under the XIth Dynasty. A separate

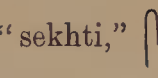
priesthood can hardly as yet be said to have existed; the male head of every family was the priest (ḥen ka, ) of his ancestors, and the "Sem" and "Kher-ḥeb" priests were certainly at this time kinsmen of the deceased. We have, it is true, vague indications of the existence of a college of priests of Rā-Temu at Heliopolis, under the headship of its chief official, who was known as the "Great Two Eyes," or the "Great Seer," "Ur-maa," , of Rā-Temu; this, however, must have been a very different institution from the powerful confraternities of later days, although its influence was sufficiently great to place upon the throne of Egypt a dynasty of kings who were devoted to its interests. We also find that there existed at Memphis the high priest of the god Ptaḥ, whose official title was the "Great Chief of the Hammer," , Ur-kherp-ḥem; he must have controlled a considerable body of priests, but one which could not for a moment be compared with that of the priests of Rā even at this period. Commerce in the modern sense of the term can hardly have existed at this early time, for each of the great estates into which Egypt was divided was self-supporting, and each produced sufficient for its own needs. The common people lived on the estates on which they were born in a state of absolute dependence upon their lords, but they usually dwelt in their own towns and villages, which were situated within the boundaries of these estates. Under a strong central

Government the condition of such people was, on the whole, a happy one, and they appear to have been humanely treated by their lords, who were not divided from them by any differences of religion or class preju-



Alabaster vase. VIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 30,459.

dice; but when the central Government fell into decay and the Princes of Siut, the modern Asyût, warred against the Princes of Thebes, both families acknowledging the over-lordship of the kings at Herakleopolis,

the condition of the "sekhti," , i.e., "field man," or "fellaḥ," became indeed deplorable. He was taken from his land, and sent to fight against his fellow countrymen with whom he, personally, had no quarrel, and meanwhile his house and farm were practically left to take care of themselves; if he came back unhurt it was often to find himself the prey of some unjust steward or extortionate bailiff like Meruitensa in the story of the Peasant,[1] who took the opportunity of the lord's absence to play the petty tyrant. To the unique position held by women in Egypt in the earliest times we have already alluded, and the passage which has been quoted from the Precepts of Ptaḥ-ḥetep shows that the estimate which the Egyptians had formed of the importance of a just and proper treatment of women was far in advance of that held by other nations of antiquity, and that it was little inferior to our own.

[1] See *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xiv., June 14, 1892, p. 459 ff.

CHAPTER VI.

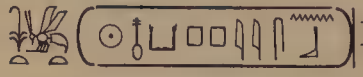
THE SEVENTH TO THE ELEVENTH DYNASTIES.

THE information of an accurate character which we possess concerning this period is exceedingly limited, and it is impossible to give any connected account of the succession and reigns of the kings. According to the version of Manetho by Julius Africanus, the years of the dynasties of this period are as follows :—

VIIth Dyn. From Memphis; 70 kings in 70 days.
VIIIth Dyn. From Memphis; 27 kings in 146 years.
IXth Dyn. From Herakleopolis; 19 kings in 409 years.
Xth Dyn. From Herakleopolis; 19 kings in 185 years.
XIth Dyn. From Thebes; 16 kings in 43 years.

The versions of Manetho given by Eusebius and others differ so much from that of Julius Africanus that it is quite clear that as far as this period is concerned the figures have been garbled; we are therefore driven to rely for information about the period of these dynasties almost entirely upon the few monuments which can with safety be assigned to it. We are not in any way helped in this difficulty by the King Lists which were compiled

by the scribes of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. The Tablets of Karnak and Ṣaḳḳâra are of very little use for the whole period of the Middle Empire, for in them the order of the kings is much confused, and as said above, the reason in no way concerning us here, they are manifestly incomplete. The Tablet of Abydos is of considerable value here, for it gives us the names of the following kings:—

1.  Rā-nefer-ka.
2.  Rā-nefer-ka-Nebi.
3.  Rā-nefer-ka-Khenṭu.
4.  Mer-en-Ḥeru.
5.  Se-nefer-ka.
6.  Rā-en-ka.
7.  Rā-nefer-ka-tererl.
8.  Ḥeru-nefer-ka.
9.  Rā-nefer-ka-Pepi-senb.
10.  Rā-nefer-ka-ānnu.

11.  Rā- -KAU.

12.  Rā-NEFER-KAU.

13.  Ḥeru-NEFER-KAU.

14.  Rā-NEFER-ÀRI-KA.

15.  Rā-NEB-KHERU.

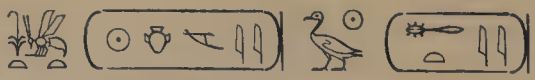
16.  Rā-SEĀNKH-KA.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that these names do not represent the full number of kings who reigned during the period of the VIIth-XIth Dynasties, and that we have here only a selection from them. The Royal Papyrus of Turin does not help us to decide the difficulties, although here and there the indications which it gives are useful, e.g., it shows that Nitocris was not the last sovereign of the VIth Dynasty. At the end of the VIth Dynasty must probably be placed an isolated king called  I-EM-ḤETEP, whose name is found on the rocks in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, where it seems to have been inscribed by the "divine chancellor, the captain of the soldiers, KA-NEFER," . The two names Rā-NEB-KHĀ

or NEB-KHĀ-RĀ, , and ḤERU-ḤEN-NEFER, , or ḤEN-NEFER-ḤERU, which are attributed to this period, are at present unplaceable; it is doubtful if the latter name is that of a king at all. Of the kings of the VIIth Dynasty the only inscribed remains known are scarabs of RĀ-EN-KA or EN-KA-RĀ, , and RĀ-NEFER-KA-NEBI or NEFER-KA-RĀ-NEBI; of the VIIIth Dynasty, the last which reigned at Memphis, no remains or monuments of any kind whatsoever have been identified. It seems very probable that during the weak rule of the kings of the VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties, the princes of Herakleopolis, the Suten-ḥenen, , or Ḥenen-su of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, succeeded in gaining their independence, and that they were the founders of the IXth Dynasty, to which must belong Khati and others.

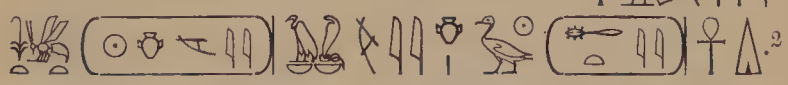
NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES.

FROM HERAKLEOPOLIS.

 RĀ-ÀB-MERI, son of the Sun, KHATI.



MERI-ÂB-TAUI, the Horus name of Khati.

KHATI, who is no doubt the Akhthoes, Ἀχθόης, of Manetho,[1] is made known to us by a bronze vessel, preserved in the Museum of the Louvre, which has round its upper part, in hollow work, the inscription, "The living Horus, loved of the heart, king of the South and North, Meri-âb-Rā, lord of the city of the vulture and of the city of the uraeus, Meri-âb, son of the Sun, Khati, giver of life" .[2]

Of AKHTHOES Manetho says (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 106) that he became more terrible than all those who went before him, that he did evil unto the people in all Egypt, and that afterwards he fell into madness and was destroyed by a crocodile. The name of this king is found upon a rock in the First Cataract,[3] a fact which indicates that work went on in the quarries there during his reign, and that he had consolidated his power in the land sufficiently to carry on building operations. The names of the immediate successors of this king are unknown, unless we assume that certain royal names which are found upon scarabs, apparently

[1] See Griffith, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xiv. 40; it has been suggested that Akhthoes is to be identified with the Χουθηρ of Eratosthenes (see Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 704; and Petrie, *History*, p. 115).

[2] See Maspero, *ibid.*, vol. xiii. p. 429.

[3] See Sayce, *Academy*, 1892, p. 332.

belonging to this period, represent them; but it must be borne in mind that the possibility exists that they may belong to the period which lies between the XIIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties. The following are the names to which we refer :—



RĀ-MAĀ-AB.



RĀ-SEKHĀ-EN.



RĀ-NUB-TAUI(?).



RĀ-ĀA-ḤETEP.



RĀ-KHĀ-USER.

[1] British Museum, Nos. 30,510, 32,287, 32,363, 17,212.
[2] British Museum, Nos. 30,511, 28,201, 32,342.
[3] British Museum, No. 30,512.
[4] British Museum, No. 28,097.
[5] British Museum, Nos. 32,331, 4140, 24,113.

It must be pointed out that each of these names is preceded by the title "*neter nefer*," i.e., "beautiful god," and if the scarabs on which these names occur really belong to the period of the IXth Dynasty, this is the earliest appearance of the title in question. It must not be forgotten that this title was a very favourite one in the XIIIth Dynasty, from which fact it might be argued that these scarabs and the kings whom they commemorate in reality date from a period subsequent to that of the XIIIth Dynasty. For the present, however, we may assume that they belong to the period of the IXth Dynasty; one of the chief reasons for this assumption is the striking resemblance of these scarabs to those of the kings of the VIth and VIIth Dynasties. Besides this, it has been pointed out that Eratosthenes mentions a king Meures, *Μευρης*,[1] immediately after Chouther, and it follows that if Ȧb-meri-Rā Khati be Chouther, Maā-ȧb-Rā may very well represent Meures.

The next name which meets us on contemporaneous monuments is that of  Rā-ka-meri, or Ka-meri-Rā, of whose reign we have an exceedingly interesting monument in the tomb of Khati, son of Tefabȧ, a prince of Siut. We know the names of three of the princes of Siut at this period, i.e., Khati I., Tefabȧ, his successor, and Khati II., the son and successor of Tefabȧ, who flourished in the reign of Ka-meri-Rā. Khati I. was established as a prince by a

[1] See Bunsen, *op. cit.*, p. 705; and Petrie, *op. cit.*, 116.

king whose name is not mentioned, but who was probably one of the successors of Åb-meri-Rā, and some details of his life are afforded us by the inscriptions which he had placed in his tomb.[1] Stripped of the naïvely conceited phraseology of the Egyptian noble, his words tell us that he occupied himself with cutting canals and attending to the irrigation of his district, in the course of which work he made dams and embankments, by which he succeeded in raising the level of the waters of the Nile to that of the lands at the foot of the hills, which before his time had remained unwatered and therefore unproductive. He was rich in flocks and in herds, and his crops were abundant, and with his earthly goods he endowed the temple of his god. He was himself a mighty warrior and skilled in the use of the bow and the sword, and he raised a company of troops, which consisted of hundreds of picked men from the North and of thousands of bowmen from the South. He possessed boats in large numbers wherein the king was pleased to journey up and down the river. Khati I. received his appointment as ḥā, , prince, because he was a just man, and because he had taken no part in any rebellion against the king, and had remained consistently loyal to his lord. He ends his inscription with the words, "He (i.e., the king) set me at the head of his "nobles who were arrayed in royal apparel, and he made

[1] For the Egyptian texts see Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London, 1889; and for translations see Griffith, *B. & O. Record*, vol. iii., and Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1889, p. 410 ff.

"me to learn to swim with the royal children. I return "thanks, and I have been free from rebellion against my "master who brought me up when I was a child. Siut "rejoices under my rule, Ḥenen-su adoreth me, and the "lands of the South and the North say, 'Whatsoever the "'prince commandeth, that is the command of Horus.'" The allusion which this prince makes to his picked men from the North and his archers from the South is of interest, for it shows that he was able to support his loyal words by loyal deeds, and his forces on land and his boats on the river made Khati I. a prince whose friendship was greatly to be desired. It is easy to understand from his reference to his own loyalty that the condition of the country must have been in a very unsettled state, and that dissension and strife prevailed in all parts of it. The feeble Memphite kings had allowed a number of petty chiefs to usurp gradually very considerable powers, and when the VIIIth Dynasty came to an end the tribes of the Delta asserted their independence, and a violent struggle for the crown of Egypt arose between the princes of Herakleopolis and those of Thebes. Khati I. seems to have taken no active part in any war against these princes of Thebes, but his sympathies were with the princes of Herakleopolis, and there is no doubt that his forces would have marched to battle with theirs, had the princes of Thebes attempted the invasion of the northern country on a large scale.

From the inscription in the tomb of Tefabâ, the successor of Khati I., we are able to see how matters

developed in the reign of Ka-meri-Rā. Tefabà says that he was a benevolent man, and a man wise in counsel, and a man useful in his town, and one who always hearkened unto the cry of the afflicted, and who never defrauded the widow. He was beloved of his parents and their slaves, and he devoted himself to redressing the injuries which had been inflicted upon his people by soldiers or marauders. The condition of the country under Tefabà's rule was so safe that a man might lie down at night by the highway, and go to sleep with as little concern at the thought of danger as he would in his own house, and the flocks and herds were as secure in the fields as if they had been in their own sheds; the thief and the robber became abominable men, and they no longer had power to oppress any man. At length war broke out, and the people of the districts from Elephantine northwards came in a body to do battle against the princes of Herakleopolis; they were attacked by Tefabà's soldiers and utterly defeated. Whenever Tefabà attacked the town of an enemy he threw down its walls and took its governor captive, and when he had defeated every chief on the left bank of the river, he passed over to the right, and did the same there; he says that he was like a bull [on the day of battle], and that he conquered wheresoever he went. The boats of his adversary were dashed to pieces against the river banks, his soldiers became like bulls in the presence of a lion which is about to leap upon them, he surrounded the town from

one side of it to the other, and he seized the enemy's possessions and cast them into the flames. He declares that he was able to effect all these things through the counsels and plans of Ápuat, the god of Thebes, and that he overthrew the happiness of every place which fought against the king; that his progress through the provinces of the South was like that of a flame of fire, and that there was no part of the desert which was too remote for the terror of him to penetrate. In his success and prosperity Tefabá did not forget the gods of his country, for he gave gifts to their temples and caused religious ceremonies to be performed in their honour.

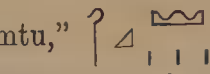
The success which the princes of Herakleopolis enjoyed in the time of Tefabá was continued under his son and successor Khati II., who is declared to have sprung from the bodies of five princes, and to have been the son of a prince, and the son of a daughter of a prince, and the offspring of an ancient family which had been the ruling power in Siut from the earliest times. The inscription in his tomb states that he was greatly beloved by Ka-meri-Rā, that he had spread terror throughout all the land of Egypt, and that he had inflicted punishment upon the country of the South. It seems that the king had become unpopular with the chiefs and nobles of Herakleopolis, and that eventually he had to seek safety in flight to his friend Khati II., prince of Siut; this redoubtable man assembled his forces and collected his boats, and, having made the

king to take his seat in one of them, he escorted Ka-meri-Rā down the river to his capital city, and established him in the rule of his kingdom. When the rebels saw the forces which accompanied the king they trembled and were greatly afraid, and every town by which he passed gladly submitted and made peace with him; on his arrival in his city the whole population turned out to welcome him, women as well as men, and old men as well as children. The king thus owed his restoration to power entirely to the vigorous help of the prince of Siut, and this fact shows how great was the influence which Khati II. possessed in the land, and the prominent part which he took in arranging the government of his country. Had he been disaffected when Ka-meri-Rā was driven out of his capital, his troops and boats would probably have been placed at the disposal of the princes of Thebes, and the rule of the princes of Herakleopolis would have ended much sooner than it did.

We have already mentioned certain royal names which are found only upon scarabs that have been thought to belong to the period of the IXth and Xth Dynasties because of the peculiar character of their workmanship, and in respect of the names already quoted there seems to be some reasonable ground for this assumption; but the same cannot be said of another small group of names which are found chiefly on scarabs that have also, on grounds of style and workmanship, been attributed to this period.

The latter group consists of three names, i.e., (1)  SE-USER-EN-RĀ KHIAN, who took as his Horus name the title "ÅNQ ÅṬEBU"[1]  "embracing lands," (2) [2] UATCHEṬ, and (3) [3] IPEQ-ḤERU. The first of these names is known to us from a much-broken colossal statue of the king which was found at Bubastis by M. Naville; portions of a second statue were also found, but the name of Khian, which must have been inscribed upon it also, was erased, and an inscription of Osorkon II. was cut over the older inscription. These portions, including the head, which is probably to be regarded as a portrait of king Khian, are now in the British Museum;[4] the portions of the first statue, which still bear the name of Khian, are preserved in the Museum of Cairo. Khian's name as "king of the South and North," i.e., SE-USER-EN-RĀ, occurs on a small rough basalt lion,[5] which was obtained at Baghdad by the late Mr. George Smith, and the name of the king was found by Mr. A. J. Evans upon a jar lid which he discovered in the course of his excavations in the Mycenaean palace of Knossos (Kephala) in Crete. On inscribed seals and cylinders Khian is described as

[1] See Naville, *Bubastis*, 1891, plate 12.
[2] British Museum, No. 32,319.
[3] British Museum, Nos. 32,441, 32,344.
[4] British Museum, Nos. 1063, 1064.
[5] British Museum, No. 987.

"ḥeq semtu," , i.e., "prince of the deserts"; this peculiar title, taken in connection with his remarkable Horus name mentioned above, the foreign type of



Se-user-en-Rā Khian, King of Egypt. British Museum, No. 1063.

the name Khian, and the un-Egyptian character of his portrait heads from Bubastis, as well as the fact that his chief monuments are all found in Lower Egypt,

have been usually regarded as proofs that this king belonged to the Hyksos Dynasty. In late years, however, it has been maintained, solely on the ground of arguments based upon the style of his scarabs, that he belongs to the period of the Xth Dynasty; but such arguments are inconclusive, for although these scarabs do in many respects resemble those of the VIth and VIIth Dynasties, and are very similar to those which we have tentatively ascribed to the IXth Dynasty, yet these resemblances are not strong enough to enable us to set aside the weighty evidence which we have duly set forth above, from which it may be assumed with some show of reason that Khian was a Hyksos king. This view receives very substantial confirmation from Mr. Evans' discovery of Khian's name at Knossos, for the oldest parts of the palace which he discovered there may well be as old as B.C. 1800, the date which may be roughly assigned to the Hyksos period. If the scarabs of Khian belong, in reality, to the time of the Hyksos, the scarabs of Maā-ȧb-Rā and other kings, whom we have provisionally assigned to the IXth Dynasty, may belong to a period subsequent to the XIIth Dynasty. The scarabs of Ipeq-Ḥeru and Uatcheṭ are identical in style with those of Khian, and their names are of the same foreign character; it follows therefore that if Khian was a Hyksos king, Ipeq-Ḥeru and Uatcheṭ were Hyksos kings, and they must have reigned about the same time, i.e., about B.C. 1800. We are, then, not justified in assuming

that an invasion of Egypt by Asiatic tribes, who entered the country by way of the Delta, took place in the period between the VIIIth and XIth Dynasties; the only invasion of the kind known to us was that of the Hyksos, which took place several hundreds of years later.

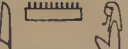
Another invasion which was formerly ascribed to this period, i.e., that of the "New Race," who were on insufficient grounds described as "Libyans," has now for several years past been recognized as never having taken place. The "New Race" were simply, as M. J. de Morgan has pointed out, the primitive Egyptians who lived in the period preceding the Ist Dynasty. The Xth Dynasty ends the Early Empire, the closing years of which were, as we have seen above, marked by strife and civil war, caused by the persistent attempts of the princes of Thebes, a city hitherto unknown in Egyptian history, to obtain the mastery of the Two Lands. The result is that the knowledge of this period which we possess is of the scantiest description, but the principal facts of which we can be certain, and the theories upon which most reliance can be placed, will be found to have been given above.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.

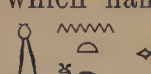
THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

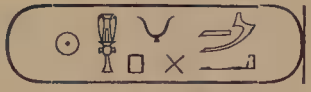
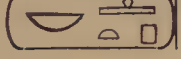
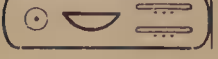
We have already mentioned that under the rule of the kings of the Xth Dynasty, i.e., Ka-meri-Rā and his predecessors, the princes of Siut formed a bulwark of the kings at Herakleopolis against the persistent attacks of the princes of Thebes. This city, which is generally alluded to in the inscriptions of the period as the "city of the south," now for the first time comes into prominence, and prepares to assume the predominant position which it occupied in Egyptian history for more than two thousand years. Ancient Thebes stood on both sides of the Nile, and was commonly called "Uast" ; that part of the city which was situated on the east bank, and which included the temples of Karnak and Luxor, appears to have been called Ápet, , whence, by the addition of the feminine article *Ta-*, , comes the Greek form of the name, *Θῆβαι*, mentioned in the Iliad of Homer (ix. 381 ff.), a passage

which must date, at the latest, from the IXth century B.C. The Copts prefixed the feminine article to the name Apet, and called the city Tape, which is not a corruption of the Greek form, but is derived directly from the old Egyptian words Ta-âpet. The cuneiform inscriptions and the Hebrew Scriptures call it Ni' and "No" (Ezekiel xxx. 14), i.e., the Egyptian word "Nut," , "city," that is to say, "The City" *par excellence;* and "No-Amon," i.e., the Egyptian "Nut-Âmen," , that is to say, "The City of the god Âmen"; the later Greek and Roman writers call it Diospolis, or Diospolis Magna, because of the identification of the god Zeus with Âmen, the king of the gods of Egypt. It is impossible to say when Thebes was founded. Diodorus says that it was the most ancient city in Egypt; some say that, like Memphis, it was founded by Menes, and others, that it was a colony from Memphis. So far, however, its name has never been found in any inscription anterior to the Xth Dynasty. The spot upon which ancient Thebes stood is admirably adapted for the site of a great city. The mountains on the east and west side of the river sweep away from it, and leave a broad plain on each bank of several square miles in extent. The great god of Thebes was called "Âmen," , a name which is said to mean the "hidden god"; his name is mentioned in the religious texts of the VIth Dynasty, but only as an inferior deity, who occupied an unimportant position in

the theological conceptions of the priests of Heliopolis. Originally he was of far less importance in the country of the south than Min, or Âmsu, the ithyphallic god, and Menthu of Hermonthis, and Horus of Edfu. Under the XIth Dynasty, when the Theban princes first assumed the rank and titles of kings, he first acquired as the local god of their city a position of prominence, which was almost equal to that of the old local god of the Thebaïd, Menthu, whom the princes of the XIth Dynasty specially venerated. Under the XIIth Dynasty Âmen became the chief god of the Thebaïd, and the cult of Menthu declined, the chief attributes of this god being absorbed by Âmen, with whom Min, or Âmsu, was also gradually more or less identified. The kings of the XIIth Dynasty founded a shrine in honour of Âmen in a part of Thebes now called Karnak, and from this time down to the Ptolemaïc period the Temple of Âmen became the centre of the religious life of all Egypt. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty Âmen usurped the position of the chief god of Egypt by entirely absorbing the god Rā, becoming henceforth Âmen-Rā, and taking over all his attributes and the whole of his cult; from now onwards his official title is "Âmen-Rā, king of the gods, lord of the thrones of the world." His wife Mut is often mentioned under the XIIth Dynasty, but the cult of their son Khonsu remained unimportant until the time of the XXth Dynasty.

The princes of Thebes who fought against the

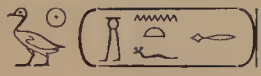
princes of Siut like them bore the title of "erpā ḥā," , or "hereditary chief." One of these princes who is known to us, and who may very well have been a contemporary of the princes of Siut whose names have been mentioned above, bore the name of Àntefà, . It is not known which of his successors was the first to assume the title of "King of the South and North," but it is probable that he was one of the group of kings, of whom each bore the name of Menthu-ḥetep, whose reigns must be assigned to the XIth Dynasty. The authorities for the reconstruction of the history of this dynasty are few, and the King Lists drawn up in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties almost entirely fail us. For this period the Tablets of Karnak and Ṣaḳḳâra are useless, for though they supply the names of kings of the XIth, XIIth, and following Dynasties, these names are not given in any consecutive order, and to follow the guidance of the Lists here is to be misled. It has been generally held that a series of kings, each of whom bore the name of Àntef, , which name was sometimes elaborated into Àntef-āa, , formed, together with the series of Menthu-ḥetep kings already mentioned, the kings of the XIth Dynasty; but there seems now to be no doubt that this arrangement of the kings of that dynasty is erroneous. It is certain that the Menthu-ḥetep kings belong to the XIth Dynasty, but it is by no means

certain that the Àntef kings do, for the following reasons. In the first place, the prenomens, or names which the Àntefs bore as kings of the South and North, e.g., SESHES-HER-ḤER-MAĀT-RĀ , and SESHES-ÀP-MAĀT-RĀ , and the Horus name of ḤERU-UAḤ-ĀNKH, , are entirely different in character from the simple prenomens of the Menthu-ḥeteps, such as NEB-ḤETEP , and RĀ-NEB-TAUI , and NEB-KHERU-RĀ ; and whereas the latter are of the type of the names of the kings of the Early Empire, the prenomens of the Àntefs strongly resemble those of the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty, and are utterly unlike any name belonging to the Early Empire, or to the first years of the XIIth Dynasty. Further, some of the Àntefs added to their names the epithet "āa," , "Great," which was an important element in the prenomens of the Hyksos monarchs, and was adopted by the "TAA" kings of the XVIIth Dynasty, and was not fashionable at any other period. Another reason for assigning the Àntef kings to the period between the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasties may perhaps be deduced from the shape of their coffins. Under the Early and Middle Empires rectangular wooden coffins with flat wooden covers were in general

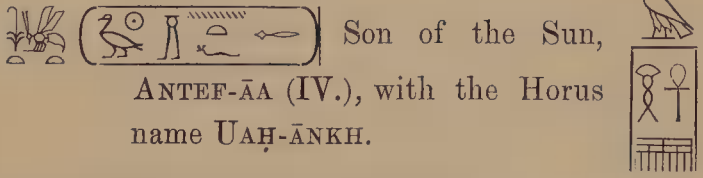
use for nobles and men of high rank, and no example of a coffin made in the shape of a mummy with a human face is known to belong to these early periods; but the Àntef kings were buried in coffins of this latter class and not in the old-fashioned rectangular chests. The coffin in mummy form is first found in general use at the beginning of the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and it is somewhat difficult to assume that the coffins in which the Àntefs were found do not belong to the period immediately preceding. It may further be noted that the style of the scarabs of the Antefs, e.g., of  Nub-kheperu-Rā, is much more elaborate than that of the scarabs of the Menthu-ḥeteps, which resemble those of the Early Empire. Finally, there must be taken into consideration the fact that a decree dated in the 3rd year of Nub-kheperu-Rā Àntef is cut on a doorway of Usertsen I., a king of the XIIth Dynasty, at Coptos, which proves that Nub-kheperu-Rā Àntef reigned after Usertsen I. An attempt has been made to explain away this deduction by supposing that the existing inscription is a *copy* of the original decree cut in or after the time of Usertsen, but it is extremely improbable that such a copy would have been inscribed in such a place. The above reasons seem to us to be sufficient for placing the Àntef kings at the beginning of the XVIIth Dynasty, but because general Egyptological tradition assigns them to the XIth Dynasty, we treat of their reigns here before we discuss the kings

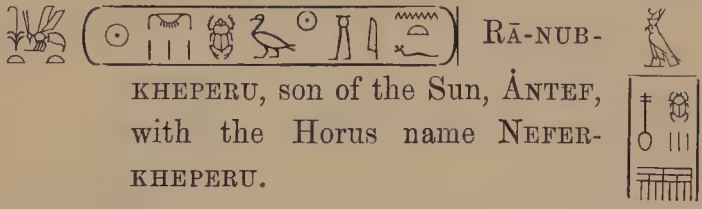
who undoubtedly belong to the XIth Dynasty. The names of the kings which should be transferred to the XVIIth Dynasty are as follows:—

1.  RĀ-SESHESH-HER-ḤER-MAĀT, son of the Sun, ÀNTEF-ĀA (I.).

2.  Son of the Sun, ÀNTEF-ĀA (II.).

3.  RĀ-SESHES-ÀP-MAĀT, son of the Sun, ÀNTEF-ĀA (III.).

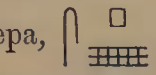
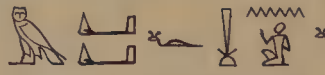
4.  Son of the Sun, ANTEF-ĀA (IV.), with the Horus name UAḤ-ĀNKH.

5.  RĀ-NUB-KHEPERU, son of the Sun, ÀNTEF, with the Horus name NEFER-KHEPERU.

Of ÀNTEF-ĀA I. the only monument known is his coffin, which is preserved in the Museum of the Louvre; this coffin is made of wood, the face being painted black, and it is ornamented with feather work. Dr. Birch, who described it and translated [1] the hieroglyphic

[1] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 52.

texts inscribed upon it, thought that the cartouche and the royal name had been added at a period subsequent to the lines of inscription. The texts contain addresses to the deceased king in the character of Osiris.

Of ÀNTEF-ĀA II. also the only monument known is his coffin, which resembles that of his brother Àntef-āa I. in shape and character, but differs from it in respect of ornamentation; instead of being covered with a design of coloured feather work it is gilded all over.[1] It also is preserved in the Museum of the Louvre. The hieroglyphic inscription upon it contains a prayer to Anubis, lord of Sepa, , and mentions the fact that the coffin was provided for Àntef-āa II. as a gift by his brother .[2] On it Isis and Nephthys address the deceased king, saying, "We place our arms as protectors of thee, O Osiris, king Àntef-āa *maā-kheru*."[3]

Of ÀNTEF-ĀA III. the principal contemporaneous monument is his gilded coffin, which is preserved in the British Museum (No. 6652). The uraeus, or serpent, which originally surmounted the forehead is wanting.

[1] "Il est doré et décoré d'ailes qui enveloppent et protègent le corps du défunt." Pierret, *Recueil*, p. 86.

[2] Birch, *ibid.*, p. 52.

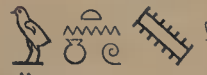
[3] These words are always added after the names of the blessed dead. They mean the state of knowledge which will enable a man to utter commands, whatever they may be, in such a manner as will cause them to be carried out by those to whom they are addressed, whether gods or devils.

The face appears to be a portrait of the deceased; the eyes and eyelids are made of black, white, and blue obsidian, inlaid, and closely resemble those found in the limestone statues of the earliest dynasties. The feather work and star ornaments appear to be characteristic of the period of the coffins. The inscriptions are addresses to the king by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, and read: "We bring thy hands to thee as "we did for Osiris, and we grant unto thee a happy "burial; thy heart is in thy body, say Isis and "Nephthys." In the inscription at the foot the goddesses say, "We come, and we embrace thy bones for "thee, O Ántef-āa, thou king of the South and North." In the Abbott Papyrus (British Museum, No. 10,221) we have a reference to the tomb of this king, which was examined officially during the trial of the robbers of the royal tombs at Thebes to see what damage, if any, had been done to it by them, and in the document which records the examination is the following entry:—"The "pyramid tomb (*mer* ) of the king of the "South, Rā-seshes-em-àpu-Maāt (life, strength, health!), "the son of the Sun, Àntuf-āa (life, strength, health!), "was found to have been actually broken into by the "hand of the robbers at the place where the stele of the "pyramid is placed. Having been examined on this "day it was found to be intact, for the robbers did "not know how to make a way into it." [1] From this it

[1] See Maspero, *Enquête Judiciaire*, Paris, 1871, p. 17.

seems that the robbers tried to effect an entry by the side of the stele, and that they did some damage is evident from the use of the word *utennu*[1] in the inscription.

The name of ÂNTEF-ĀA IV. as king of the South and North is unknown to us. The tomb of this king is mentioned in the Abbott Papyrus, where we have the following entry:—"The tomb of the king of the South, "Ân[tef]āa (life, strength, health!), which is [situated] "to the north of the Temple of Âmen-ḥetep (life, strength, "health!), of the court-yard of the tomb. The tomb hath "been broken into at the place which faceth that wherein "the sepulchral stele hath been set up. The image of "the king on the stele is represented in a standing "position, and he hath his dog, which is called Beḥuka, ", between his legs. Having "been examined on this day, it was found to be intact."[2] This king built for himself a brick tomb on the western bank of the Nile, at a place which is almost exactly opposite the modern village of Karnak, and not far from Dêr al-Baḥarî, and here it was discovered by the late Brugsch Pâsha in the year 1860; the modern name of the site is Drah abu'l-Neḳḳa. This tomb consisted of an unbaked brick pyramid, each side of which at the base did not measure more than about fifty feet. The

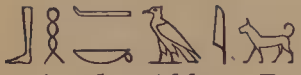
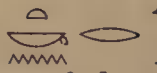
[1] , which means "to overthrow," "to ruin."

[2] Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

pyramid was built on the rock, and the chamber in which the mummy lay was hewn either out of the rock entirely, or partly out of the stone foundations of the pyramid and partly out of the rock. The tombs of this class and period which were made for the Àntefs and their immediate successors consisted of unbaked brick buildings, which were either pyramids or had pointed roofs like pyramids. In a chamber in the building itself, or in a grave in the foundation or solid rock, lay the mummy; on one side of the building was the funeral chapel, which joined on to it, and at the end of this chapel, fixed in the tomb-building itself, was the sepulchral stele; in this chapel funeral offerings were made by the relatives and priests of the deceased king, and prayers were said. Sepulchral buildings of this kind were not oriented on any uniform plan, and they were rarely as much as thirty-five feet high, and stone was used but sparingly in their construction. The mummy-chamber was always carefully closed, and was usually approached by means of a square vertical or inclined shaft; in the mummy-chamber itself the objects of funeral furniture, i.e., vases, tools, weapons, wheat, bread, fruit, etc., were deposited, and such things have never been found in the upper or outer chamber of the building, which was reserved for the visitors who came to pray there on certain prescribed days.[1]

The Stele of Àntef-āa IV., to which reference is

[1] See Mariette, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iv. p. 194.

made in the Abbott Papyrus, was found by Brugsch in the upper chamber of the tomb, and is of very considerable interest. The upper part of the stele was broken away, as well as parts of the seven vertical lines of inscription which were cut to the left of the figure of the king. In front of the left leg of the king are three dogs, and between his legs is another. The first dog is called Beḥukaâ, , which is clearly the dog referred to in the Abbott Papyrus, although his name is misspelled by the XXth Dynasty scribe, and he does not occupy the position which is assigned to him in the legal report. He was probably the most famous of the dogs of Ântef-āa IV., and by his name and peculiarity enabled the tomb to be at once recognized.[1] The second dog is called Ābaqeru, ,[2] the third Pehetes, , and the dog between the legs of the king Teqru ; behind the king stands the figure of a man whose name seems to have been Tekenru, , and who probably held the office of master of the royal hounds. Three of the dogs have epithets applied to them on the stele which probably refer to their physical powers and characteristics; thus the first is said to be "*Maḥetch*," the third "*Qemu*," and of the fourth it is said

[1] Birch, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iv. p. 174.

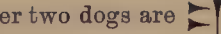
[2] M. Maspero compares this word with the Berber name for greyhound, "abaïkour"; *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. v. p. 127.

"*uḥat neb khanfet*," [1] but the meanings of these words are uncertain. In connection with the dogs of Ȧntef-āa IV. we are reminded of the fact that fine terra-cotta models of Ashur-bani-pal's dogs were found with the inscribed tablets and fragments among the ruins of this king's palace at Kuyunjik, or Nineveh. On each dog is either a name or a title, e.g., "capturer of foes," [2] "biter of foes," [3] "making the evil to go forth," [4] and thus it appears that the same views in respect of dogs of the chase were held by a king of Egypt and a king of Assyria. The inscription which accompanies the figure of the king is, as has been said, mutilated, but from what remains of it we learn that Ȧntef-āa IV. had provided the temple of Ȧmen at Thebes with libation vessels of great price, and had built up the divine houses of the gods, and raised their battlements, and established offerings in perpetuity, and had captured the city of Abydos, and entered into its secret places; having done

[1] According to Dr. Birch, Maḥetch means "white antelope"; Qemu, "black"; uḥat neb khanfet, "cutting off all under his breath," and Ābaqeru, "pied Sphinx." There is no proof that all these dogs have Libyan names.

[2] .

[3] .

[4] . The names of the other two dogs are  and , i.e., Epar-tallic-ebush-kaka, and Da-an-ri-gish-shu.

great good to his city, he arranged that his son should succeed him, and the inscription declares that the tablet was set up in the fiftieth year of the king of the South and North, the son of the Sun, Àn-āa, i.e., Àntef-āa.[1] Following the royal name is the title "nem mestu," , i.e., "repeater of births," the allusion being to the idea that the king was like the Sun-god Rā who was reborn daily; this title became a great favourite with the kings of the XIIth Dynasty.

Of ÀNTEF V., the last of the series of kings bearing this name, we also have mention in the Abbott Papyrus, where we find the following entry:—"The "tomb of the king of the South, Nub-kheperu-Rā (life, "strength, health!), son of the Sun, Àntuf (life, strength, "health!), was found to have been actually broken into "by the hand of the robbers, who have made a breach in "the outer covering thereof to a depth of two cubits "and a half, and also an opening one cubit (in length or "breadth) in the outer hall of the tomb of Àurei, the "chief of the supply of offerings to the temple of Àmen, "which was destroyed. It (i.e., the mummy-chamber) "was intact, the robbers not having known how to force "an entrance therein."[2] The tomb of this king was discovered by Mariette, who found in front of it two small obelisks, one of which was about eleven feet high, and the other a little higher, and who mentions that there

[1] A drawing of the stele is given by Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plate 49.

[2] Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

was upon one of them an inscription which recorded their restoration by a later king, perhaps Rameses IX.[1] The remains of the obelisks were despatched by boat to the Bûlâk Museum in 1881, but, according to Mariette, were lost at Kamûla by the foundering of the boat which contained them, owing to the stupidity of the captain. From the inscriptions on these obelisks, which were published by Mariette,[2] we learn that the Horus name of Ântef was Nefer-kheperu, and that he adopted the old title , and also called himself "beautiful god, lord of the two lands, the lord making things"[3] (i.e., creation), and the "King of the South and North who resteth upon his throne." On the side of one of the obelisks his names and titles were grouped, as shown by the accompanying block. The text of an interesting decree dated in the third year of the reign of this king Ântef was cut, apparently during his lifetime, upon the side of a gateway of the temple which was dedicated to the god Min, or Âmsu, at Coptos by Usertsen I., and from it we gain some interesting details of a matter which took place concerning the Temple



Names and titles of Ântef.

[1] See Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[2] *Op. cit.*, plate 50.



of Àmsu in that city, and we may perhaps also gather from it an indication that Àntef reigned *after* Usertsen I., and not before, as has been commonly supposed. The decree is dated on the 25th day of the third month of the season Pert, and is described as a royal decree addressed to the chancellor and *ḥā* priest of Coptos Àmsu-em-ḥāt, , and to the royal son in command at Coptos Qà-enen , and to the chancellor Menkhet Àmsu , and to the scribe of the temple Nefer-ḥetep-ur , and to all the soldiers of Coptos, and to each and every man employed in the service of the temple of every rank and grade whatsoever. The text continues:—"This decree cometh unto "you to cause you to know that my Majesty (life, "strength, health!) hath made to come [unto you] the "scribe and divine chancellor of Àmen [called] Àmen-sà, "and the chief inspector Àmen-user to make an inspec- "tion of the temple of Àmsu. Now, inasmuch as an "officer of the temple of my father Àmsu came unto my "Majesty (life, strength, health!), saying, 'A wicked act[1] "'hath been committed in the temple, that is to say, "'the man whose name is Tetà, the son of Àmsu-ḥetep, "'hath received an enemy [therein],' come, throw ye him "upon the ground in the temple of father Àmsu, turn ye

[1] Literally "evil speech" .

"him out of the exalted position which he holdeth in the "temple, and [his] son's son, and his offspring's offspring. "Hurl ye them forth on the ground [outside the temple], "let his allowance of bread be taken away from him, let "his portion of meat from the holy offerings be cut off, "and let his name be no more had in remembrance in "this temple, even according to that which is done unto "any man who is like unto him, and who rebelleth and "becometh a foe of the god. Erase ye whatsoever he "hath written in the temple of Àmsu and everything "likewise which he hath written in the double white "house (i.e., treasury). And any king or any noble who "shall allow Tetà to be reconciled unto him shall never "receive the White Crown , and shall never bear [on "his head] the Red Crown , and he shall never take "his seat upon the Horus throne of the divine ones who "live; and the Vulture goddess (Nekhebet) and the "Uraeus goddess (Uatchet) shall never be propitiated by "him [or show him] their love. And every governor or "*ḥā* prince who shall come to the Lord (life, strength, "health!) to sue for peace on his behalf shall be com- "pelled to make over his menservants and maidservants, "and his goods and possessions, and his fields as a divine "oblation to father Àmsu of Coptos, and during the "lifetime of such a man none of the kinsfolk, either of "his father or of his mother, shall occupy that exalted "position. And, moreover, the dignity [which Tetà "held] shall be transferred to the chancellor and over-

"seer of the palace, Àmsu-em-ḥāt, and there shall be "given unto him the bread and the meat of the holy "offerings which appertain thereunto according to the "regulations which stand written in the books of the "temple of father Àmsu of Coptos, and unto [his] son's "son, and unto his offspring's offspring."[1] Whether the offence committed by the delinquent was connected with blasphemy or with rebellious conduct against the king cannot be said, but it seems much more likely that Tetà had made cause with a heretic than with a mere enemy of the king; expulsion from the service of the temple, with the consequent loss of rank, position, and emoluments accruing therefrom, was a meet punishment for blasphemy or heresy, and it seems most probable that the priest who uttered words of treason or the like against the divine majesty of the king of the South and North would have swiftly received the punishment of death and not a mere deprivation of priestly office. In connection with king Àntef may also be mentioned the poem of lamentation, or Manerôs's Dirge,[2] which is said to have been [written] in front of the harper in the temple of the blessed king Àntef. The ideas set forth in this interesting composition are as follows:—"It is a fortunate lot for man that it hath "been decreed that as one man hath passed away

[1] The slab bearing this decree is now in the Museum at Gîzeh, and the text is given by Petrie, *Koptos*, plate 8.

[2] See Herodotus II. 79. This dirge was said to have been called after Manerôs, a son of the first king of Egypt, who died in his early youth, and is analogous to the Cyprian Linos, or Ailinos dirge.

"another hath taken his place. The gods who lived in "olden times and who now rest in their tombs, and the "saints and blessed dead who lie in their graves, built "houses, but they no longer exist, and what hath be- "come of them? The writer hath heard the words of "Ī-em-ḥetep[1] and Ḥeruṭāṭāf,[2] but what hath become of "their places? Their walls are overthrown, and their "places no longer exist, and they are as if they had "never been; and no one cometh [from the dead] to give "us information concerning them, or to speak of their "qualities, or to bring comfort to our heart and to lead "us unto the place whither they have gone. But let "thy heart be at rest, and let it forget these things, and "follow thou its desires as long as thou livest. Put "scented unguents upon thy head, and array thyself in "apparel of the finest byssus cloth which hath been "steeped in the choicest perfumes. Go on, and enjoy "thyself more than thou hast enjoyed thyself up to this "present, and let not thine appetite for enjoyments fail, "and according to the dictates of thine heart arrange "thine affairs upon this earth in such a way that thou "mayest follow after the wish of thine heart and the "gratification thereof. The day will come to thee when "thou wilt not hear the voice, and when he whose heart "is at rest shall not hear the voice of those who weep; "and lamentations avail not him that is in the tomb.

[1] A man of great learning who flourished during the period of the Early Empire.

[2] The son of Khufu or of Men-kau-Rā, the editor or author of certain chapters of the *Book of the Dead*.

"Enjoy thyself, and be diligent in thine enjoyment, for "no man can carry his possessions away with him; and "behold, none who goeth thither cometh back again."[1] The above ideas, expressed in different words, were great favourites with the Egyptians, and they are reproduced in the Song of the Harper and other similar compositions.[2]

The above four kings who bore the name of Àntef-āa, and their successor Nub-kheperu-Rā Àntef, form, as we have said before, a single group of kings, the date of whose reigns is to be assigned probably to the period which lies between the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasties. We have now to describe what is known of the reigns of the undoubted true kings of the XIth Dynasty. The founder of the Dynasty was, most probably, the local chief of the Thebaïd Àntefà, whose titles were "erpā ḥā," or hereditary chief, "great prince of the nome of "the Thebaïd, the filler (i.e., the satisfier) of the heart of "the king, the controller of the gates of the Cataract, "the support of the South, making his two banks[3] of

[1] See Goodwin, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 386; and Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, tom. i. fasc. 2, p. 178 ff.; the latest edition of the Egyptian text and a German translation will be found in Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter*, p. 29.

[2] A complete drawing of the stele will be found in Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plate 50.

[3] The title "neb taui,"  "lord of the two lands," always means the two banks of the Nile, and here the fact is emphasized by the determinative ; the title should be distinguished from "neb taiu" , = "lord of lands," i.e., of the world.

"the Nile to live, chief of the priests, and venerated in the "presence of the great god,[1] the lord of heaven, Ȧntefȧ."



. On his stele we see this prince seated in a shrine on a chair, beneath which is his favourite dog. One man standing before him is making offerings, another, who stands behind him, is fanning him, and a third, also behind him, is holding his staff and his sandals. Elsewhere on the stele we see servants slaughtering an animal and bringing offerings of all kinds to him.[2] Ȧntefȧ seems to have ruled the Thebaïd under the Herakleopolite kings of the Xth Dynasty, and it was either he or one of his immediate descendants who assumed the title of king, although there seems to be no authority for putting his name in a cartouche. Ȧntefȧ was succeeded in the rule of Upper Egypt and of the whole country by an independent king called:

1.  NEB-ḤETEP, son of the Sun, MENTH-ḤETEP.

[1] I.e., the god Osiris.

[2] For the enumeration of them see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 225.



NETER-ḤETCH, the Horus name of Menthu-ḥetep I.

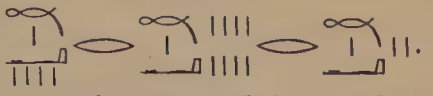
MENTHU-ḤETEP I. adopted the ancient title , which had been borne by his predecessors of the Early Empire, and for his Horus name he arrogated to himself the title "divine white crown," which he also placed before his title of King of the South and North. He carried on works in the quarries in the First Cataract and also in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, for his names and titles are found at those places cut in the rocks. On the Island of Kunussaw in the First Cataract his cartouche is found inscribed above figures of the deities Khnemu, Àmsu, and Satet, and enough remains of the inscriptions to show that these gods promised to set all "foreign lands under his sandals." On the same island his cartouche is found with figures of the deities Menthu, Àmsu, and Net, or Neith, and beneath the feet of Àmsu are piled fifteen bows to indicate the various barbarian countries which these deities will make subject unto the king. In the Wâdî Ḥammâmât is a scene on a rock, in which the king is represented in the act of making an offering to the dual god Àmsu-Ḥeru of the double city of Coptos.[1] The working of the quarries by this king indicates that he must have built temples in honour of the gods.

[1] Copies of the three scenes are in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 150.

2.  RĂ-NEB-TAUI, son of the Sun, MENTHU-ḤETEP.



NEB-TAUI, the Horus name of Menthu-ḥetep II.

MENTHU-ḤETEP II. adopted the titles of the ancient kings, and for his Horus name he bestowed upon himself the title "lord of the two lands"; he was the first king known to us to call himself "gods of gold," . Of the details of the reign of this king nothing is known, and whether he fought with any of Egypt's hereditary foes cannot be said; we know, however, that he carried on great works in the famous quarries in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, for no less than six important inscriptions concerning him were found there.[1] He sent a very high official called Âmen-em-ḥāt, whose titles are set forth at great length in an inscription dated on the 15th day of the second month of the season Shat in the second year of the king's reign,[2] to this quarry to bring back for him a huge sarcophagus and blocks of stone to be worked into objects employed in temples and tombs; one block of stone which he got out of the quarry in a few days measured 4 × 8 × 2 cubits, . Of greater interest is the record preserved in another

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, inscription *e*.

inscription[1] which tells how the king ordered his men to make a well ten cubits square, , so that the workmen and their beasts might not die of thirst. The year in which this useful piece of work was done is not mentioned, but it seems most likely that the work of cutting the well was superintended by the official Ȧmen-em-ḥāt, especially as he had with him several thousands of men, including three thousand carriers or boatmen. It is interesting to note that in the same inscription Menthu-ḥetep II. mentions that he was "born of the royal mother Ȧmām," , a fact which, as Wiedemann pointed out in 1884, indicates that he succeeded to the throne by virtue of the royal rank of his mother. Menthu-ḥetep was a devoted worshipper of Ȧmsu, and in a rock scene in the same place he is represented in the act of making an offering of incense to this god, who is ithyphallic, and wears plumes like the god Ȧmen, and has his right hand raised; this took place in the second year of the king's reign when a Seṭ or thirty-years' festival was celebrated.

3.  Rā-neb-kheru, son of the Sun, Menthu-ḥetep.

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, inscription *f*, lines 3 and 4.



SAM-TAUI, the Horus name of Menthu-ḥetep III.

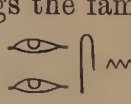
MENTHU-ḤETEP III., who adopted for his Horus name the title "Uniter of the two lands," and, like his two predecessors, styled himself the lord of the cities of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, was the greatest of all the kings who bore his name; that his rule was a long one is evident from the fact that the Stele of Meru in Turin[1] is dated in the forty-sixth year of his reign. The names and titles of Menthu-ḥetep III. as king of all Egypt are found upon a rock at Aswân,[2] and as his prenomen is given on the Tablets of Abydos and Ṣaḳḳâra the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty must have considered him to be a great king. He was buried in a pyramid tomb, or in a tomb with a roof pointed like a pyramid, which was built in the Bibân al-Mulûk, or Tombs of the Kings, at Thebes, and in the Abbott Papyrus[3] we have the following entry concerning it:—"The tomb of Rā-neb-khert (life, strength, health!), "the son of the Sun, Menthu-ḥetep (life, strength, "health!), which is in the funeral mountain called "Tchesert, was intact." The name of the pyramid tomb of Menthu-ḥetep III. was "Khu-âst," , a fact which we learn from the funeral stele of one Tetu, who was the "chief reader," and "superintendent of the offerings," and a scribe connected with the worship

[1] Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[2] See Lepsius, *op. cit.*, p. 149*b*.

[3] Maspero, *Enquête Judiciaire*, p. 21.

of the king which took place there; Tetu was buried at Abydos,[1] and in a short inscription in his tomb he asks every priest, and every reader, and every scribe of the temple to remember that he was a scribe in the temple there. In his later years Menthu-ḥetep III. carried on war against a number of tribes who lived in Nubia, and also in the Western Desert, and before his death his empire extended from the sea-coast on the north to a point some considerable distance to the south of Aswân. An interesting scene in which he is represented receiving the homage or adoration of a "son of the Sun, Ântef," is found cut on a rock on the side of the road which leads inland from Ḥôsh Gebel Silsila on the Nile. Here we have a colossal standing figure of the king holding a club in the right hand, and a sceptre in the left; above his head are his Horus name and his name as king of the South and North. Before him stands the royal personage called Ântef, who is followed by Khati, the chancellor, and overseer of the seal; and behind him is the divine mother Âāḥet, , who holds a lotus flower in the right hand, and a staff in the left.[2]

To the reign of Menthu-ḥetep III. belongs the famous inscribed stele of Maati-sen, or Merti-sen, ,

[1] Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 227; Mariette, *Catalogue*, No. 605, p. 135.

[2] First published by Eisenlohr from a drawing by Harris in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1881, p. 100.

an artist and sculptor of great skill and repute in his day, if we may believe his own description of his artistic powers. The inscription has been published several times,[1] and is of considerable interest, for it shows that the kingdom of Egypt was sufficiently consolidated to admit of the employment of skilled artists and sculptors. Maati-sen says, "I know the "secret things of sacred literature, and the regu- "lations of the festivals, and every word of power with "which a man should be provided therefor; I have never "put them away from me. I am, moreover, a workman "skilled in his craft, who by reason of his knowledge "hath risen above [all others]. I have knowledge con- "cerning the water flood [of the Nile], and of the rising "of the scales in making reckoning by weighing, and "how to depict the motion of a limb when it is extended "and withdrawn to its place. I know [how to depict] the "gait of a man, and the way in which a woman beareth "herself, and the two arms of Horus, and the twelve "abodes of the Monster, and how to gaze with that un- "equalled eye which striketh terror into the fiends, and "how to balance the arm in such a way as to smite down "the hippopotamus, and [how to depict] the stride of him "that runneth. I know how to make the amulets which "will enable us to go unharmed through every fire what- "soever, and which will keep us from being washed away "by any water whatsoever. No man getteth skill in

[1] The text is given with an English version by Maspero in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. v. p. 555 ff.

"these matters except myself and the eldest son of my "body, unto whom God hath decreed that he should "advance in them. I have seen the productions of his "two hands and his beautiful work in precious stones of "every kind, and in gold, and in silver, and in ebony."

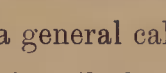
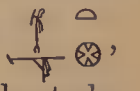
4.  RĀ-SE-ĀNKH-KA.



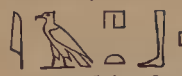
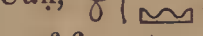
SE-ĀNKH-TAUI-F, the Horus name of Se-ānkh-ka-Rā.

The name of SEĀNKHKA-RĀ as "son of the Sun" is unknown, but it has been conjectured [1] that it was "Ȧntef," and, in fact, that this king is to be identified with the "son of the Sun" who is seen adoring Menthu-ḥetep III. at Ḥôsh Gebel Silsila as already described; but whether this be so or not, it is quite certain that he was monarch of all Egypt, and we know that he styled himself "lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet"; he also called himself the "Horus of gold." In the Tablet of Abydos his cartouche precedes that of Ȧmenemḥāt I., and he appears to have been the last king of the XIth Dynasty. Of the reign of this king we have very few details, for, like most of his immediate predecessors, he seems to have taken no special trouble to commemorate his exploits. One very important document, the text of which has come down to us, gives us an account of an

[1] Petrie, *History*, p. 141.

expedition to Punt, which was placed by the king under the direction of a general called Ḥennu, ; this document is inscribed on a rock in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât,[1] and is dated on the third day of the season She in the eighth year of the reign of Seānkh-ka-Rā. According to the text, Ḥennu was sent to take ships to Punt to bring back the *ānti* unguent, , or spice, which had been collected for the king of Egypt by the chiefs of the great tribes of the desert who lived in fear of him. He set out from the town of Coptos on the Nile, and his majesty ordered him to take with him armed men from the nome of the Thebaïd, , and a number of skilled artificers, who were also to be armed in such a way that they would be able to meet and overcome the opposition of any organized force that might be encountered on the way. He started on his journey with three thousand men, and passed through Ȧtert-Ṭeshert (Red Town) and Āat-en-Sekhet (House of the Wood), by which time he had presumably reached the desert road of Wâdî Ḥammâmât. He next made ready water-skins and yokes on which to carry them, and made a regulation whereby each man was to take his turn in carrying the water for the army. In a wood he dug a reservoir, and at Ȧṭahet, , two reservoirs, one of which measured a *khet*  by twenty

[1] Published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 150*a*.

cubits, and the other a *khet* by thirty cubits; at Ȧaheteb, , he also dug a reservoir which measured ten cubits by ten cubits. At these wells Ḥennu's troops drank, and so made their way to the coast of the Red Sea near the modern Ḳuṣêr (Kosseir),[1] where goats, and cows, and oxen were sacrificed as thanksgiving offerings for their safe arrival. From this place Ḥennu set out for Punt in ships or boats which he built, and having arrived in that country and laden his boats with products of every kind, he sailed back to the port from which he had started, and coming back by Uaḳ, , and Pe-henu, he brought with him blocks of fine stone suitable for making statues of the gods and of the king. Ḥennu tells us that such a thing had never been performed since kings had existed, and that no one who had been sent to these places, i.e., Punt and its neighbourhood, had ever done the like since the time of Rā, meaning that it was possible that the gods might have performed such a feat when they were reigning over Egypt, but that no man had ever done so. The above facts are very important as showing that already in the XIth Dynasty the Egyptians had commercial relations with the country of Punt by sea, and that when it was necessary they were able to provide for the transport of a considerable number of men. It is probable that

[1] Chabas read the name of the place as SBA, and thought the place referred to was the Leukos-Limen of the classical writers; see *Voyage*, p. 58.

Ḥennu sent on companies of men in advance to make ready the reservoirs, i.e., to break up the stone in places where it was known by experience that water would be found beneath the surface, so that by the time when the main body of his army arrived water would have collected in them. A number of such reservoirs are to be found in many places in the Eastern Desert, especially in and near the Wâdî 'Ulâḳi, and along the desert routes leading into it from the north and south. There is reason to believe that the Egyptians always kept up friendly relations with Punt. It may have been by way of this land that in the earliest dawn of Egyptian history the victorious foreigners from the East approached the place on the western coast of the Red Sea, whence they entered the Wâdî Ḥammâmât and the Nile Valley. The *ānti* spice or unguent was so much prized in Egypt, that it probably was necessary for caravans to go once or twice a year to meet boats from Punt, and exchange and barter must have taken place between the Egyptians and the people of Punt from the earliest dynastic times. The expedition of Ḥennu was on a large scale, and this able official, no doubt, took care that his skilful conduct of the same should be recorded.

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